

1     Landell v. Vermont Public Research, No. 00-9159

2     WINTER, Circuit Judge, dissenting,

3  
4             I concur in part in the result reached by my colleagues'  
5     opinion. I respectfully dissent from their holdings as to Act  
6     64's limits on expenditures by candidates, including "related  
7     expenditures" by individual supporters and political parties, and  
8     as to the Act's forced centralization of local political parties.  
9     In view of the length of this separate opinion, I begin with a  
10    table of contents.

1 CONTENTS

2	I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	5
3	II. APPLICABLE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES . . . . .	8
4	a) Overview . . . . .	8
5	b) Money and Protected Political Speech . . . . .	11
6	c) Freedom to Organize Political Parties . . . . .	13
7	d) Sufficient Governmental Interests . . . . .	15
8	e) Requisite Precision of Regulation . . . . .	18
9	f) Appropriate Level of Scrutiny . . . . .	20
10	III. THE PROVISIONS OF ACT 64 . . . . .	25
11	a) Overview . . . . .	25
12	b) Two-Year Cycle . . . . .	27
13	c) Limits on Expenditures by Candidates . . . . .	29
14	d) Limits on Contributions to Candidates . . . . .	38
15	e) Limits on "Related Expenditures" . . . . .	41
16	f) Costs of Compliance . . . . .	45
17	g) Treatment of the Press . . . . .	47
18	h) Administration and Enforcement . . . . .	48
19	IV. THE BURDEN ON PROTECTED SPEECH . . . . .	49
20	a) The Burden on Grassroots Political Activity . . . . .	50
21	1) Burden on Volunteer Activity . . . . .	51
22	2) Burden on Local Party-Funded Activity . . . . .	54
23	b) The Burden on Candidates' Speech . . . . .	55
24	1) Past Experience . . . . .	56

1	A) Inaccuracy of Reports From Past Elections . . .	56
2	B) Inadequacy of Average Spending in Past Elections	
3	as a Constitutional Standard . . . . .	59
4	C) Evidence of Contested Elections in Vermont . .	63
5	2) Effect of Act 64's Expenditure Limits on	
6	Candidates . . . . .	65
7	c) The Burden on Challengers . . . . .	72
8	d) The Burden on the Press . . . . .	78
9	e) The Burden on Party Affiliates . . . . .	81
10	V. THE CONSTITUTIONAL RESOLUTION . . . . .	83
11	a) Restrictions on Political Activity for Which No	
12	Governmental Interests are Asserted . . . . .	85
13	b) <u>Buckley</u> Forecloses the Asserted Justifications for	
14	Expenditure Limits . . . . .	88
15	c) The Insufficiency of the Governmental Interests . .	97
16	1) Anti-Corruption . . . . .	97
17	2) Time Protection . . . . .	104
18	3) Public Confidence in Government . . . . .	108
19	d) Stopping the "Arms Race," "Effective Advocacy," and	
20	Incumbent Protection . . . . .	113
21	1) The "Arms Race" . . . . .	113
22	2) "Effective Advocacy" . . . . .	116
23	3) Incumbent Protection . . . . .	120
24	e) The Excessive Discretion Accorded Administrators .	120

1	VI. THE REMAND ON NARROW TAILORING . . . . .	.128
2	a) Legislative Facts, Adjudicative Facts, and Mixed Issues	
3	of Fact and Law . . . . .	.129
4	1) The Distinction Between Legislative and	
5	Adjudicative Facts . . . . .	.130
6	2) Remand for "Findings" of Legislative Fact and of	
7	Law . . . . .	.132
8	b) Failure to Define What is Restrictive About Act 64	137
9	c) The Existence of a Less Restrictive Alternative .	.139
10	d) Remanding to the Wrong Forum . . . . .	.141
11	VII. CONCLUSION . . . . .	.146
12	Appendix A . . . . .	.150

1 I. INTRODUCTION

2 On August 7, 2002, my colleagues filed an extensive majority  
3 opinion in this matter. I filed a partial dissent that was  
4 almost as long as the majority opinion. Although our opinions,  
5 subsequently vacated by my colleagues, were a clear and present  
6 danger to the forests of the nation, they failed to join issue in  
7 many ways.

8 My colleagues' opinion in the main adopted the stated  
9 purposes of the Vermont legislature and the opinions of its  
10 proponents as sufficient constitutional justifications for Act  
11 64. My dissent was largely a detailed statutory analysis of Act  
12 64, concluding that it limits or prohibits a vast range of  
13 ordinary political activities. The dissent also discussed the  
14 Act's pervasive ambiguities to be resolved through the often ad  
15 hoc discretionary decisions by those who must administer it and  
16 was critical of my colleagues for viewing the Act through the  
17 prism of what its proponents said about it instead of what the  
18 Act itself says.

19 Although my dissent has been substantially revised to  
20 address issues raised by my colleagues' decision to remand rather  
21 than reverse with regard to the expenditure limits issue, to  
22 elaborate in more detail the evidence that Act 64 is intended to  
23 protect incumbent legislators, and to provide a more  
24 particularized discussion of the evidence in the record, not much

1 has changed since my colleagues vacated our earlier opinions.  
2 Their revised opinion does not discuss or even mention, to take  
3 only a few examples, the following concrete effects of Act 64:

4 (i) Act 64's limits on expenditures are  
5 so low that they are below the amount spent  
6 in the past by third-party candidates, see  
7 infra Part IV(b) (1) (C);  
8

9 (ii) Act 64 limits a candidate who must  
10 run in both a primary and general election to  
11 the same expenditures as an opponent who runs  
12 only in the general election, see infra Parts  
13 III(b), IV(c);  
14

15 (iii) a favorable press editorial after an  
16 interview with a candidate must be valued and  
17 treated as a contribution to, and expenditure  
18 by, the candidate's campaign subject to Act  
19 64's limits, see infra Parts III(g), IV(d);  
20

21 (iv) according to Vermont's Secretary of  
22 State, if a candidate provides a photo or  
23 written materials to a person who uses the  
24 photo or materials in a publication, the  
25 candidate must treat the cost of the  
26 publication as an expenditure by the  
27 candidate, see infra Parts III(g), IV(d);  
28 Appendix A;  
29

30 (v) the draconian limits on the  
31 activities of autonomous local units of  
32 political parties resulting from Act 64's  
33 requirement that funding for all local  
34 activities, such as a town committee picnic,  
35 must be from a single statewide party bank  
36 account with the permission of the person who  
37 controls that account, see infra note 1, Part  
38 IV(a) (2), (e);  
39

40 (vi) the need for campaign volunteers to  
41 keep records of every mile they drive to  
42 meetings, to campaign events, or on other  
43 campaign business over a two-year period, see  
44 infra Parts III(e), IV(a) (1);  
45

1 (vii) the need of a campaign to treat the  
2 miles driven by volunteers as a campaign  
3 expenditure subject to Act 64's limits (and  
4 to keep records and report that mileage), and  
5 to prohibit further driving by volunteers  
6 whenever limited (by Act 64) campaign  
7 resources are needed for other activities or  
8 the expenditure limits have been reached, see  
9 infra Parts III(e), IV(a) (1); or

10  
11 (viii) the restrictions on ordinary  
12 homeowners wanting to hold meet the  
13 candidates events (and again the need for a  
14 candidate's campaign to record and limit such  
15 events as campaign expenditures), see infra  
16 Part IV(a) (1).

17  
18 My colleagues now remand Act 64's expenditure limits  
19 principally for an inquiry into whether the Vermont legislature  
20 considered somewhat higher limits as a less restrictive  
21 alternative. Even putting aside the Supreme Court's holding that  
22 expenditure limits are per se unconstitutional, see Buckley v.  
23 Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 45, 54, 57 (1976) (per curiam), that language  
24 used in Act 64 is unconstitutionally vague, 424 U.S. at 44, 80,  
25 see infra note 6, and the fact that, even under the standard  
26 applied by my colleagues, the levels of Act 64's limits are  
27 unconstitutionally low and clearly protective of incumbents, the  
28 remand is something of an oddity. First, it involves largely  
29 legal issues described by my colleagues as factual. Second, the  
30 issue should be whether less restrictive alternatives exist, not  
31 whether the Vermont legislature considered them. Third, the  
32 degree of an alternative's restrictiveness cannot be evaluated  
33 without knowing what is restrictive, and to what degree, about

1 the law in question. However, the only discussion of Act 64's  
2 specific restrictions on political activity is found in this  
3 dissent. Fourth, a speech-supportive and constitutionally sound  
4 alternative -- a combination of private and public financing with  
5 low contribution limits -- is obviously available. In fact, Act  
6 64 itself limits contributions to such small amounts -- \$400 for  
7 statewide candidates, \$300 for Senate candidates, and \$200 for  
8 House candidates -- that there is no evidence showing that the  
9 possibility of improper influence on officeholders is at present  
10 anything but negligible.

11 I therefore respectfully continue to dissent as to the  
12 constitutionality of two aspects of Act 64. See 1997 Vermont  
13 Campaign Finance Reform Act (codified as Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17,  
14 §§ 2801-2883) ("Act 64"). Those aspects are Act 64's limits on  
15 expenditures by candidates, including related expenditures by  
16 individual supporters and political parties, and its restrictions  
17 on fundraising and spending on party-building activities by  
18 state, county, and local committees of a political party. Id. §§  
19 2801(5), 2805a. Otherwise, based on Supreme Court precedent, I  
20 concur in the result reached by my colleagues.

## 21 II. APPLICABLE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

### 22 a) Overview

23 Neither Act 64's limits on expenditures nor its restrictions  
24 on independent fundraising and expenditures by state or local



1 party committees involve new issues of constitutional law.

2 Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976) (per curiam), held,  
3 without qualification, that government may not limit campaign  
4 expenditures by candidates for electoral office. Id. at 45, 54,  
5 57. Act 64 limits such expenditures notwithstanding Buckley.  
6 Indeed, the proponents of Act 64 never doubted its  
7 unconstitutionality under Buckley and enacted it for the explicit  
8 purpose of creating a vehicle for litigation to overturn Buckley.  
9 See infra note 2 and accompanying text. Act 64's limits on  
10 expenditures violate the First Amendment because they limit a  
11 broad spectrum of political speech and activity, including  
12 ordinary grassroots activities and editorializing and reporting  
13 by the press, for no permissible purpose. Further, they entrust  
14 those who enforce the law with unfettered, and unconstitutional,  
15 discretion to determine, often on an ad hoc basis, what acts of  
16 political advocacy are permitted and what are prohibited. Even  
17 if expenditure limits were not per se unconstitutional, the low  
18 level at which the limits are set by Act 64 so heavily favors  
19 incumbents that it can be upheld only by application of a legal  
20 test similarly skewed toward incumbents. See infra Part V(d).

21 Moreover, Act 64 treats a contribution to a local political  
22 party affiliate as a contribution to all affiliates and requires  
23 that all such contributions be initially deposited in the state  
24 party bank account. See infra note 1. This means that all

1 funding for a local affiliate's activities -- even for a six-pack  
2 of diet soda for a town committee picnic -- must be approved and  
3 paid by the person who controls that statewide account. At a  
4 stroke, and without any proffered reason, much less a statement  
5 of a compelling governmental interest, this revolutionary  
6 provision destroys the autonomy of local affiliates of political  
7 parties from each other and from the state party organization,  
8 and thereby violates both freedom of speech and freedom of  
9 association.

10 Act 64 suppresses ordinary political activity at every level  
11 of the electoral process. It reflects the philosophy of one  
12 witness for the defense who testified that government ought to  
13 regulate political speech the way it regulates public utilities.  
14 Trial Tr. vol. V at 167 (Helen David-Friedman). Act 64 may be a  
15 popular law -- although this dissent will note several instances  
16 of great disquiet and even shock among proponents upon learning  
17 what it actually says -- but only because its proponents  
18 systematically divert attention from the law's actual provisions  
19 to the nobility of their goal -- here the transfer of political  
20 power from "special interests" to "ordinary citizens." Maj. Op.  
21 at 40, Appellant's Br. at 24-29; Trial Tr. vol. IX at 57-62  
22 (Gordon Bristol); id. at 137 (Elizabeth Ready); Trial Tr. vol.  
23 VII at 88 (Cheryl Rivers); Trial Tr. vol. VIII at 63-64 (Peter  
24 Smith). However, even this attractive rhetoric cloaks sinister

1 purposes. Foiling "special interests" while empowering "ordinary  
2 citizens" is a rhetorical staple of electoral politicians of  
3 every viewpoint because the terms are used as synonyms for one's  
4 opponents and supporters respectively. In this light, the  
5 pursuit of this goal through the regulation of political speech  
6 is the road to the suppression of opponents.

7 As Justice Brandeis once noted, "The greatest dangers to  
8 liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-  
9 meaning but without understanding." Olmstead v. United States,  
10 277 U.S. 438, 479 (1928) (Brandeis, J., dissenting). And Justice  
11 Black has reminded us that "[h]istory indicates that urges to do  
12 good have led to the burning of books and even to the burning of  
13 'witches.'" Beauharnais v. Illinois, 343 U.S. 250, 274 (1952)  
14 (Black, J., dissenting). Act 64, which has its greatest impact  
15 in silencing those ordinary citizens whose active participation  
16 in politics takes place through organized groups, provides us  
17 with a modern reminder of the wisdom of those two statements.

18 b) Money and Protected Political Speech

19 The activities limited by Act 64 are the ordinary stuff of  
20 democracy that constitutes the core of the conduct protected by  
21 the First Amendment. There is "practically universal agreement  
22 that a major purpose of [the First] Amendment was to protect"  
23 political speech. Mills v. Alabama, 384 U.S. 214, 218 (1966),  
24 quoted in McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Comm'n, 514 U.S. 334, 346

1 (1995). Indeed, the First Amendment "has its fullest and most  
2 urgent application precisely to the conduct of campaigns for  
3 political office." Buckley, 424 U.S. at 15 (quoting Monitor  
4 Patriot Co. v. Roy, 401 U.S. 265, 272 (1971)).

5 As Buckley held, because money is needed for access to  
6 resources of communication, any limit on the use of money for  
7 political speech is a limit on that speech. 424 U.S. at 19.  
8 Political speech without an audience is not worth the effort.  
9 Political speakers must therefore go to where voters are or speak  
10 through a medium that voters watch or hear. Without resources of  
11 communication, no speech is effective. Without money, resources  
12 are not obtainable. Cars use gas. Gas costs money. A candidate  
13 who has reached Act 64's limits on expenditures and may not even  
14 drive the family car to a town green to make a speech is as  
15 effectively barred from speaking as he or she would be if the law  
16 flatly prohibited the speech itself. As the Supreme Court has  
17 stated:

18 A restriction on the amount of money a  
19 person or group can spend on political  
20 communication during a campaign necessarily  
21 reduces the quantity of expression by  
22 restricting the number of issues discussed,  
23 the depth of their exploration, and the size  
24 of the audience reached. This is because  
25 virtually every means of communicating ideas  
26 in today's mass society requires the  
27 expenditure of money. The distribution of  
28 the humblest handbill or leaflet entails  
29 printing, paper, and circulation costs.  
30 Speeches and rallies generally necessitate  
31 hiring a hall and publicizing the event.

1  
2 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 19.  
3

4       Proponents of Act 64 rarely acknowledge this fact in  
5 stressing their preference for limiting political speech to the  
6 "old-fashioned handshake campaign," Trial Tr. vol. IX at 47  
7 (Gordon Bristol), including "meet and greet" events, Trial Tr.  
8 vol. X at 187 (Karen Kitzmiller), such as "spaghetti suppers,"  
9 Trial Tr. vol. IX at 221 (Anthony Pollina), "little parties" for  
10 "150 people" to which "a couple hundred" people are invited by  
11 mail, id. at 141-42 (Elizabeth Ready), Rotary Club and Jaycees  
12 meetings, Trial Tr. vol. V at 43 (Donald Hooper), booths at  
13 county fairs, Trial Tr. vol. IX at 129 (Elizabeth Ready),  
14 barbecues, op-ed articles published in the press, id. at 135  
15 (Elizabeth Ready), women's groups meetings, "various boards"  
16 meetings, Trial Tr. vol. VII at 17 (Toby Young), and so forth.  
17 However, all such activities consume resources for which someone  
18 makes, or has made, expenditures of money, e.g., use of a  
19 vehicle, gas, food, soft drinks, meeting rooms, postage, salaries  
20 for editors and deliverymen, a printing facility, and so forth.  
21 Act 64's proponents do not recognize these hard facts, but the  
22 Act does, and its limits on campaign expenditures directly affect  
23 -- either by limiting or requiring a largely discretionary  
24 exemption for -- each of the items described above.

25       c) Freedom to Organize Political Parties

26       \_\_\_\_The First Amendment requires that citizens be allowed freely

1 to form political organizations at various levels of government.  
2 This protection extends to allowing organizations to be related  
3 to each other as affiliates of the same political party while  
4 still retaining much local autonomy. See Timmons v. Twin Cities  
5 Area New Party, 520 U.S. 351, 358 (1997) (stating that "political  
6 parties' government, structure, and activities enjoy  
7 constitutional protection" and noting that a political party has  
8 "'discretion in how to organize itself, conduct its affairs, and  
9 select its leaders,'" (citing Eu v. San Francisco County  
10 Democratic Cent. Comm., 489 U.S. 214, 230 (1989)); see also  
11 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 15 (recognizing the right "'to associate  
12 with the political party of one's choice'" and noting that  
13 "'[e]ffective advocacy of both public and private points of view,  
14 particularly controversial ones, is undeniably enhanced by group  
15 association'") (internal citations omitted). Act 64 treats  
16 state, county, and local affiliates of a political party as a  
17 single aggregated unit for purposes of fundraising and  
18 contribution limits, see Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(5), and  
19 requires that all contributions to a political party so defined  
20 be initially deposited in a single, statewide checking

1 account.<sup>1</sup> As a result, local affiliates can raise and spend  
2 money only through access to, and with the permission of, whoever  
3 controls that bank account.

4 d) Sufficient Governmental Interests

5 The Supreme Court has held that only the prevention of  
6 "corruption or the appearance of corruption" constitutes a  
7 sufficiently compelling interest to limit contributions to

---

<sup>1</sup>Act 64 contains the following pertinent provisions. It states, by way of definition:

"Political party" means a political party organized under chapter 45 of this title or any committee established, financed, maintained or controlled by the party, including any subsidiary, branch or local unit thereof and including national or regional affiliates of the party.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(5). In particular, it is this definition that governs the application of both the limits on contributions to, and expenditures by, "political parties," e.g. any contribution to an affiliate of a party is a contribution to all affiliates and the state party.

The Act further provides:

Candidates who have made expenditures or received contributions of \$500.00 or more and political committees shall be subject to the following requirements:

- (1) All expenditures shall be paid by check from a single checking account in a single bank publicly designated by the candidate or political committee.
- (2) Each candidate and each political committee shall name a treasurer, who may be the candidate or spouse, who is responsible for maintaining the checking account.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2802.

Each political committee and each political party which has accepted contributions or made expenditures of \$500.00 or more shall register with the secretary of state stating its full name and address, the name of its treasurer, and the name of the bank in which it maintains its campaign checking account within ten days of reaching the \$500.00 threshold.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2831(a).

I do not read these provisions to prevent local affiliates from having separate bank accounts. I do read them, however, to require that all contributions to parties go initially to the single checking account mentioned in Section 2831 for purposes of reporting and enforcing the limits on contributions to parties. Withdrawal from that checking account must be only with the consent of those authorized to sign checks.

1 candidates. See Buckley, 424 U.S. at 25-28 (holding that  
2 limiting the actuality and appearance of corruption is a  
3 "constitutionally sufficient justification" for a contribution  
4 limitation, but dismissing other proffered justifications for the  
5 limitation). It has also held, however, that neither the  
6 anti-corruption rationale, the interest in equalizing the  
7 financial resources of candidates, nor the increase in money  
8 spent on political campaigns justifies the limiting of amounts  
9 that candidates for office may spend to promote their candidacy.

10 Id. at 45, 54, 57. Indeed, the Court has stated that

11 [t]he First Amendment denies government the  
12 power to determine that spending to promote  
13 one's political views is wasteful, excessive,  
14 or unwise. In the free society ordained by  
15 our Constitution it is not the government but  
16 the people -- individually as citizens and  
17 candidates and collectively as associations  
18 and political committees -- who must retain  
19 control over the quantity and range of debate  
20 on public issues in a political campaign.

21  
22 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 57.

23 Since Buckley, the Court has adhered to the distinction  
24 between the regulation of contributions and the regulation of  
25 expenditures. See Federal Election Comm'n v. Colorado Republican  
26 Federal Campaign Comm., 533 U.S. 431, 440-41 (2001) ("Colorado  
27 II"). In Colorado II, the Court made the statement, reaffirmed  
28 even more recently in McConnell v. Federal Election Comm'n, 540  
29 U.S. \_\_\_, 124 S. Ct. 619, 655 (2003), that "ever since we first  
30 reviewed the 1971 Act, we have understood that limits on



1 political expenditures deserve closer scrutiny than restrictions  
2 on political contributions," because "[r]estraints on  
3 expenditures generally curb more expressive and associational  
4 activity," and "limits on contributions are more clearly  
5 justified by a link to political corruption." Id. The Court  
6 went on to state that "g]iven these differences, we have  
7 routinely struck down limitations on independent expenditures by  
8 candidates, other individuals, and groups, while repeatedly  
9 upholding contribution limits." Id. at 441-42 (citations and  
10 footnotes omitted) (emphasis in original).

11 One would think that the unqualified statements of the  
12 Supreme Court regarding the unconstitutionality of expenditure  
13 limits might be the end of the matter at this level of the court  
14 system, particularly since the sponsors of Act 64 have made no  
15 secret of their intention to enact it in order to provoke a test  
16 case to overrule Buckley with regard to expenditure limits. See  
17 Memorandum from Secretary of State Deborah L. Markowitz re:  
18 Review of Practical Policy and Legal Issues of Vermont's Campaign  
19 Finance Law (Jan. 9, 2001), available at  
20 http://vermont-elections.org/elections1/2001GAMemoCF.html ("2001  
21 Memorandum"); see also Hearing on H. 28 Before the Vt. House  
22 Comm. on Local Gov't, 64th Biennial Sess. (1997) (statement of  
23 Anthony Pollina); Hearing on H. 28 Before the Vt. Senate Comm. on  
24 Gov't Operations, 64th Biennial Sess. (1997) (statement of Sen.

1 William Doyle); Vt. House Comm. of Conf., Report on Campaign  
2 Finance, H. 28, 64th Biennial Sess. (1997).<sup>2</sup> However, the views  
3 of my colleagues require that I describe in some detail why Act  
4 64 is unconstitutional in the particular respects noted above,  
5 even under the constitutional test that they create.

6 e) Requisite Precision of Regulation

7 There is another body of First Amendment jurisprudence that  
8 is of relevance here: Any regulation of protected speech must  
9 embody valid criteria sufficiently precise to ensure that  
10 officials apply those criteria. See Thomas v. Chicago Park  
11 Dist., 534 U.S. 316, 323 (2002) (stating that the Supreme Court  
12 has "required that a time, place, and manner regulation contain  
13 adequate standards to guide the official's decision and render it  
14 subject to effective judicial review"); Forsyth County v. The  
15 Nationalist Movement, 505 U.S. 123, 131 (1992) ("'[A] law  
16 subjecting the exercise of First Amendment freedoms to the prior  
17 restraint of a license' must contain 'narrow, objective, and  
18 definite standards to guide the licensing authority.'" (quoting  
19 Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham, 394 U.S. 147, 150-51

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<sup>2</sup>The desire to challenge Buckley, even at the cost of living under a bad law, is exemplified by an astonishing statement of Vermont's Secretary of State. In transmitting to the Vermont legislature a review of the operation of Act 64, she cautioned against any amendment or repeal that would render the present litigation moot, even if the legislature thought the amendment or repeal in the public interest, because such an action would "frustrat[e] the express legislative goal of giving the Supreme Court an opportunity to reevaluate its decision in Buckley v. Valeo." See 2001 Memorandum, supra.

1 (1969)). Otherwise, the officials who administer the law will  
2 have the discretion to fashion and apply their own criteria  
3 without restraint. See Thomas, 534 U.S. at 323 ("Where the  
4 licensing official enjoys unduly broad discretion in determining  
5 whether to grant or deny a permit, there is a risk that he will  
6 favor or disfavor speech based on its content."); Forsyth, 505  
7 U.S. at 131 ("If the permit scheme involves appraisal of facts,  
8 the exercise of judgment, and the formation of an opinion by the  
9 licensing authority, the danger of censorship and of abridgment  
10 of our precious First Amendment freedoms is too great to be  
11 permitted.") (internal citations omitted).

12 Far from precise, much of Act 64 is more a theory than a  
13 body of legal rules. What it actually means in practice has  
14 been, in a literal multitude of critical respects, simply left to  
15 future executive or judicial rulings. Act 64 bristles with  
16 interpretive issues -- the meaning of "anything of value,"  
17 "candidate," "for the purpose of influencing an election,"  
18 "primarily benefits six or fewer candidates," "single source,"  
19 "affirmative action to become a candidate," "services by  
20 individuals volunteering their time," and so on -- and with  
21 valuation questions -- of mileage, use of a room, office,  
22 computer, phone, professional services, etc. -- and leaves  
23 resolution of all of these issues to those who must administer  
24 and enforce the statute. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801;

1    2001 Guide, supra; see also discussion infra Part III(h).

2           f) Appropriate Level of Scrutiny

3           It is standard First Amendment jurisprudence that  
4 governmental restraints on protected speech must be subjected to  
5 exacting scrutiny to survive a constitutional challenge. See  
6 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 16, 44-45 (referring to the "exacting  
7 scrutiny required by the First Amendment," and applying exacting  
8 scrutiny to "limitations on core First Amendment rights of  
9 political expression"); Smith v. California, 361 U.S. 147, 151  
10 (1959) (applying "stricter standards" to a statute that has "a  
11 potentially inhibiting effect on speech," and noting that "a man  
12 may the less be required to act at his peril here, because the  
13 free dissemination of ideas may be the loser") (citing Winters v.  
14 New York, 333 U.S. 507, 509-10, 517-18 (1948)); see also  
15 McIntyre, 514 U.S. at 347 (applying exacting scrutiny to  
16 invalidate an Ohio law that prohibited the distribution of  
17 anonymous campaign literature); Meyer v. Grant, 486 U.S. 414, 420  
18 (1988) (holding that a statute prohibiting use of paid petition  
19 circulators burdens core political speech and is therefore  
20 subject to exacting scrutiny); Lerman v. Bd. of Elections, 232  
21 F.3d 135, 146 (2d Cir. 2000) (applying "exacting scrutiny" to  
22 restriction of "core political speech" in overturning local  
23 residency requirement for petition witnesses).

24           The most exacting scrutiny must be given to legislation that

1 expressly seeks to reallocate political power -- in the view of  
2 Act 64's proponents, from "special interests" to "ordinary  
3 citizens" -- by limiting the political activity of candidates for  
4 office and their supporters. See Buckley, 424 U.S. at 14-15  
5 (calling political campaigns the "fullest and most urgent  
6 application" of the First Amendment guarantee, and invoking the  
7 "'profound national commitment to the principle that debate on  
8 public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open'")  
9 (quoting New York Times v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254, 270 (1964)).

10 As Justices Brandeis and Black have reminded us, the  
11 high-mindedness of a law's proponents is no guarantee that it  
12 does not flagrantly violate principles of freedom of expression.  
13 This is particularly true with regard to legislation that was, as  
14 I detail in Part VI(d) of this dissent, examined in the  
15 legislative process more for the nobility of its stated purposes  
16 than for what it actually says. Since Act 64's passage, surprise  
17 at its actual provisions and actual effects has been expressed by  
18 many of the law's proponents.<sup>3</sup> Notably, one vigorous supporter

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<sup>3</sup>Surprise at the actual provisions of campaign finance laws is as old as the laws themselves. A veteran civil-liberties lawyer tells the following story. "In the summer of 1972, three old-time dissenters came into the offices of the New York Civil Liberties Union in Manhattan and told an extraordinary story. In May of that year they and a few like-minded others had drafted and sponsored a two-page advertisement that appeared in The New York Times. The advertisement was sharply critical of Richard M. Nixon, the President of the United States. The ad claimed that President Nixon had authorized the secret bombing of Cambodia, in violation of international law, and should be impeached and removed from office. The ad set forth the text of an impeachment resolution that had been introduced in the House of Representatives and contained an "Honor Roll" listing eight House members who had co-sponsored that resolution. The advertisement cost approximately \$17,850, and the ad hoc group called itself the National Committee for

1 who has been described as its author, Anthony Pollina, see  
2 Vermont Reformer Says Law He Authored is Unconstitutional,  
3 Political Finance, The Newsletter, March, 2002, has since sought  
4 to run for office and brought a lawsuit claiming that Act 64  
5 violates the First Amendment. See Ross Sneyd, Progressives Sue  
6 to Ensure Public Financing for Pollina, Associated Press, Mar.  
7 12, 2002.

8       Moreover, high-mindedness is, for some, a mode of self-  
9 deception obscuring self-serving motives or, for others, a facade  
10 useful in disadvantaging political opponents, routinely referred  
11 to as "special interests." When campaign finance legislation is  
12 considered by those in power, there is both motive and  
13 opportunity to craft rules that will restrain the political  
14 activity of opponents. My colleagues caution that the  
15 self-interest of incumbents should not cause us to presume that

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Impeachment. Before the ink on the ad was barely dry, the group was sued by the United States Justice Department for running the advertisement.

When Randolph Phillips, one of the sponsors of the ad, told this story to the lawyers at the New York Civil Liberties Union, we were incredulous. How could a group of citizens be sued by the Federal Government for publishing a criticism of the President of the United States? After all, this was 1972, and First Amendment law seemed at its most vigorous in the protections of public speech, one of the shining legacies of the Warren Court. What possible justification could the government have for suing this small group of protestors? We soon discovered the answer: campaign finance reform." Joel M. Gora, No Law . . . Abridging, 24 Harv. J.L. & Pub. Pol'y 841, 842-43 (2001) (reviewing Bradley A. Smith, Unfree Speech (2001)) (footnote omitted). The law in question was the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which defined a political committee as any group that spent more than \$1,000 annually "for the purpose of influencing" -- language used in Act 64 -- a federal election and imposed various requirements on a committee's purchase of advertisements relating to a federal candidate. See United States v. Nat'l Comm. for Impeachment, 469 F.2d 1135, 1139 (2d Cir. 1972).

1 such legislation is unconstitutional. However, most of the major  
2 factual premises underlying Act 64 posit incumbents who value  
3 reelection over their duties to constituents and personal honor.  
4 These premises should not hold center stage when examining the  
5 ostensible justifications for Act 64 only to disappear when  
6 scrutinizing what its actual effects will be.

7 I also note that some of Act 64's proponents relied upon and  
8 quoted by my colleagues have themselves demonstrated the  
9 importance of self-interest among its supporters. For example,  
10 one (then) incumbent state senator testified that Act 64 was  
11 needed to stop the "arms race" in which some of her opponents buy  
12 "ads" and "yard signs" that catch voters' attention and cause  
13 voters to wonder whether she is running for reelection. Trial  
14 Tr. vol. IX at 148 (Elizabeth Ready). Another, as noted, brought  
15 a constitutional challenge to Act 64 when it impeded his  
16 political career.

17 Moreover, our experience in a similar area suggests that  
18 great caution is in order where incumbent legislators pass laws  
19 affecting their electoral fate. Legislatures can directly affect  
20 the outcome of elections through two kinds of legislation:  
21 reapportionment and campaign finance regulation. Our experience  
22 with reapportionment is that, over time, the self-interest of  
23 incumbents has become the sole guiding star. See infra Part  
24 IV(c).

1           Indeed, whenever Congress takes up legislation involving  
2   campaign finance, the press now openly discusses how various  
3   proposals will affect the prospects of particular political  
4   parties and candidates. See, e.g., Ruth Marcus & Dan Balz,  
5   Democrats Have Fresh Doubts on "Soft Money" Ban; Some Fear GOP  
6   Would Gain Edge in Campaign Finances, Washington Post, Mar. 5,  
7   2001, at A1; John Mintz, McCain's "Soft Money" Pledge Alarms GOP;  
8   Republican Leaders Say Curbs Would Hurt Party's Election Chances,  
9   Give Fund-Raising Edge to Democrats, Labor Unions, Washington  
10   Post, Feb. 22, 2000, at A6. The assumption that these possible  
11   effects never enter the minds of the candidates for reelection  
12   who enact such legislation might be questioned by even the least  
13   cynical observer. Truly searching scrutiny of campaign finance  
14   legislation is therefore essential.

15           I respectfully submit that my colleagues have not given this  
16   legislation careful, much less exacting, scrutiny. Their opinion  
17   describes the provisions of Act 64 in only cursory fashion. In a  
18   show of deference exceeding even that accorded decisions of an  
19   administrative body, it accepts the theory and factual  
20   assumptions proffered by the law's supporters at face value even  
21   when their actions belie their words. See infra Part VI(d)  
22   (failure to comply with reporting requirements); infra Parts  
23   IV(b) (1) (C), IV(c) (spending more than Act 64's limits); supra  
24   Part II(f) (bringing a lawsuit to challenge the constitutionality



1 of the Act); infra V(e) (same). And it ignores the holding of  
2 Buckley that expenditure limits are per se unconstitutional.

3 Even without the direct precedent of Buckley, First  
4 Amendment jurisprudence does not allow laws that burden and  
5 prohibit political advocacy to be justified by the proffer of a  
6 theory based on spoken and unspoken factual assumptions without  
7 the most exacting judicial scrutiny of that theory, those factual  
8 assumptions, and the actual provisions of the law as enacted.  
9 Such scrutiny requires an examination of the details of the law  
10 passed, the degree of burden it imposes on protected speech, and  
11 the interests asserted as its justification. Accordingly, I turn  
12 to what Buckley directs as the first step of constitutional  
13 analysis, the details of the law challenged. 424 U.S. at 12.

### 14 III. THE PROVISIONS OF ACT 64

#### 15 a) Overview

16 Beginning with an overview, Act 64 limits the amount of  
17 resources -- money and things of value -- that may be used by  
18 candidates in campaigns and that may be provided by individual  
19 supporters or political parties.<sup>4</sup> See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§  
20 2805, 2805a. It therefore contains limits on direct expenditures

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<sup>4</sup>Because other provisions of Act 64 strike at the heart of the democratic political system, I will note only in a footnote one egregiously overreaching provision. Act 64 requires that all political advertisements identify who paid for them, with an address, and which candidate is benefitted. The Secretary of State has sought an exemption from this requirement for buttons and lapel stickers. See 2001 Memorandum, supra. So far, she has been unsuccessful.

1 of money or use of things of value by candidates for electoral  
2 purposes and on direct contributions of money or things of value  
3 to campaigns. See id. Such limits would not necessarily reach  
4 activities that consume resources purchased and used by  
5 individuals and political parties to support a candidate's  
6 campaign. However, Act 64 styles these activities "related  
7 expenditures" and treats them both as candidate expenditures and  
8 as contributions to a candidate subject to the statutory limits  
9 on those expenditures and contributions. See id. §§ 2809(a),  
10 (b). Act 64 also requires that, for purposes of applying the  
11 limits, contributions to, and campaign expenditures by, state,  
12 county, and local affiliates of political parties are determined  
13 by aggregating, that is, by treating all affiliates as a single  
14 unit. See id. §§ 2801(5), 2805(a), 2809(d). To that end, Act 64  
15 requires that all money raised by state, county, and local  
16 affiliates be put in a single bank account. See supra note 1,  
17 and accompanying text.

18 Act 64 provides a public financing option for candidates for  
19 Governor and Lieutenant Governor. See id. §§ 2851-2856.  
20 Eligibility for public financing turns in part on Act 64's  
21 definitions of "contributions" and "expenditures," and,  
22 therefore, of "related expenditures." Were a candidate to raise  
23 or expend more than \$500 before February 15 of the election year  
24 -- or have supporters, including a political party, make related

1 expenditures in excess of that amount -- the candidate would not  
2 be eligible for public financing. See id. § 2853(a).

3 An effort like Act 64 of course must provide some definition  
4 of the conduct regulated and the substance of what is prohibited  
5 and what is permitted. Where limits on campaign expenditures and  
6 contributions are imposed by dollar value, a time frame must be  
7 selected. The statutory scheme must also include an enforcement  
8 scheme, a delicate matter when electoral speech by candidates and  
9 their supporters is regulated by governmental officials -- often  
10 their opponents -- and a multitude of statutory ambiguities and  
11 problems of interpretation and valuation abound. Scrutiny of the  
12 details of such regulation is necessary to inform the  
13 constitutional inquiry regarding the degree of impact on  
14 protected speech and conduct, the requisite nexus between the  
15 regulation and constitutionally permissible goals, and the  
16 accuracy, reliability, and likely adherence to those goals of the  
17 designated enforcement mechanisms.

18 b) Two-Year Cycle

19 As noted, establishing a basic legal framework for  
20 regulating political campaigns first requires selection of a time  
21 frame(s) for the provision of public financing and for totaling  
22 candidate expenditures, contributions, and related expenditures  
23 by individuals and political parties in order to enforce limits  
24 on their size. Act 64 is schizophrenic in that regard. For

1 purposes of public financing, it establishes separate time  
2 periods and separate funding for primary and general elections in  
3 recognition of the obvious fact that some candidates must fund  
4 both a primary and general election campaign while others need  
5 fund only a general election. See id. § 2855(a).

6 For purposes of limiting contributions and expenditures,  
7 however, Act 64 imposes a so-called "two-year cycle" approach.  
8 See id. §§ 2805(a), 2805a(a); see also 2001 Guide, supra. Under  
9 that approach, expenditures by candidates, contributions, and  
10 related expenditures by individuals and political parties  
11 supporting candidates are totaled over a two-year period for  
12 purposes of enforcing the statutory limitations. The effect of  
13 the two-year cycle is not inconsequential. Vermont, like most  
14 American states, provides both for primaries and for subsequent  
15 general elections. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2103(15), (25),  
16 2351. Because the two-year cycle lumps these elections together,  
17 contribution and expenditure limits, including related  
18 expenditures by individuals and political parties, are imposed on  
19 the total raised and spent by individual candidates in both  
20 electoral periods. In other words, Act 64 limits a candidate who  
21 must wage a serious primary fight to the same amount of total  
22 financing as his or her general election opponent who did not  
23 face a primary contest.

24 The two-year cycle introduces another complexity -- and

1 creates much room for anti-democratic manipulation -- because  
2 party primaries in Vermont are not restricted to voters  
3 registered in the particular party but are open to all voters,  
4 including those registered in other parties. See id. § 2363; see  
5 also Ian Urbina, Leveling Politics in the Green Mountain State,  
6 The American Prospect, Sept. 25, 2000, at 41 (discussing  
7 Vermont's cross-over voting in primaries); Vermont's Senate Race,  
8 The Common Man, The Economist, Sept. 5, 1998, at 25. The amount  
9 that a candidate must spend in a primary, therefore, may be  
10 substantially affected by voters who are seeking to disadvantage  
11 the candidate in the general election.

12 c) Limits on Expenditures by Candidates

13 \_\_\_\_\_Act 64 defines candidate "expenditures" to include  
14 "payments, distributions, and disbursements of money or anything  
15 of value for the purpose of influencing an election." Vt. Stat.  
16 Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(3).<sup>5</sup> The breadth of this language is  
17 indisputable. Given its ordinary meaning, the language includes  
18 the value of the use of phones, computers, offices, rooms in  
19 residences or elsewhere, paper, pencils, autos, etc. See 2001

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<sup>5</sup>The pertinent provision reads:  
"Expenditure" means a payment, disbursement,  
distribution, advance, deposit, loan or gift of money  
or anything of value, paid or promised to be paid, for  
the purpose of influencing an election, advocating a  
position on a public question, or supporting or  
opposing one or more candidates.  
Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(3).

1 Guide, supra; 1999 Memorandum, supra. For example, according to  
2 Vermont's Secretary of State, a candidate's use of an auto is an  
3 expenditure. See 2001 Memorandum, supra. Candidates therefore  
4 may not drive their personal vehicles for campaign purposes  
5 without recording every mile driven and treating the costs of  
6 that driving as a campaign expenditure. See id. Vermont's  
7 Secretary of State has suggested that 31¢ per mile is an accurate  
8 measure of expense for this purpose. See id. (She has not  
9 changed this figure notwithstanding the facts that the price of  
10 gasoline has risen and official Vermont travel is now compensated  
11 at 37½¢ per mile. See id; Vermont Dept. of Personnel, Collective  
12 Bargaining Agreements, at  
13 [http://www.Vermontpersonnel.org/employee/labor\\_cba.cfm](http://www.Vermontpersonnel.org/employee/labor_cba.cfm) (effective  
14 July 1, 2003 to June 30, 2005) (setting mileage reimbursement for  
15 Vermont employees at level established by the U.S. General  
16 Services Administration, currently 37¢).) These expenditure  
17 limits also apply to candidates who exclusively use personal  
18 funds to fund their campaigns. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §  
19 2805a(a).

20 Two terms are critical to determining what activities are  
21 "expenditures" subject to the limits: "for the purpose of  
22 influencing an election," see id. § 2801(3), and "candidate," see  
23 id. § 2801(1). Notwithstanding the assertion of a footnote in my

1 colleagues' opinion,<sup>6</sup> the breadth of the phrase "for the purpose  
2 of influencing an election" is such as to be in substantial part

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<sup>6</sup>My colleagues assert that the phrase expenditures "for the purpose of influencing an election" was "upheld" against a claim of unconstitutional vagueness by the Supreme Court in Buckley. Maj. Op. at 76 n.26. In fact, what the Court said was virtually the opposite.

The relevant passage in Buckley addressed a limit "for the purpose of influencing an election" on expenditures by persons who were neither candidates nor political committees. The "for the purpose of . . ." language was modified by the phrase "relative to a clearly identified candidate." Buckley stated that the definition of expenditures was unconstitutionally vague unless the adjectival phrase was construed narrowly to apply only to "communications that in express terms advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." 424 U.S. at 44 (expenditure limits apply only "to communications containing express words of advocacy of election or defeat, such as 'vote for,' 'elect,' 'support,' 'cast your ballot for,' 'Smith for Congress,' 'vote against,' 'defeat,' 'reject'", id. at n.52; limits struck down on other grounds). As to reporting requirements imposed on persons who were neither candidates nor political committees regarding expenditures and contributions not made to candidates or political committees, the Court also held those to be impermissibly vague unless the phrase "for the purpose of influencing an election" was construed "in the same way" as the aforementioned terms, i.e., to apply only to expenditures and contributions expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. Id. at 80.

Act 64 does not contain the language "relative to a clearly identified candidate," and relevant Vermont authorities have not construed Act 64 in this limited manner, see 2001 Guide, supra. As a result, the holding in Buckley invalidates Act 64's expenditure limits for vagueness.

1 hopelessly ambiguous and was said by the Supreme Court in Buckley<sup>7</sup>  
2 to be unconstitutionally vague. 424 U.S. at 44, 80; see supra  
3 note 6. At one end of an interpretive spectrum, that phrase  
4 would probably not include a candidate's cost of driving to a  
5 town hall to register to vote and, later, of driving to vote,  
6 although even that driving fits within Act 64's literal  
7 definition of expenditure. At the other end of the spectrum,  
8 candidate Jones's purchase of an ad stating "Vote for Jones Next  
9 Tuesday" would certainly be an expenditure. Between those

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<sup>7</sup>The Supreme Court's recent decision in McConnell did not alter the Buckley analysis. McConnell upheld the phrase "electioneering communication" -- where those funding such communications faced restrictions and disclosure requirements -- against a challenge of unconstitutionality. The term is defined as "any broadcast, cable, or satellite communication" that "refers to a clearly identified candidate for Federal office," is made during certain time periods, and "in the case of a communication which refers to a candidate other than President or Vice President, is targeted to the relevant electorate." McConnell, 124 S.Ct. at 686-87 (quoting 2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)(A)(i)). A communication is "targeted to the relevant electorate" if it "can be received by 50,000 or more persons" in the district or State the candidate seeks to represent." Id. In upholding the term "electioneering communication," the Court explained that it held "for the purpose of . . . influencing" a federal election unconstitutionally vague in Buckley not because issue advocacy (as opposed to express advocacy) can never be limited, but rather because the limitations on advocacy imposed by that phrase were unconstitutionally vague. Id. at 688. "Electioneering communication," in contrast, could be regulated because it describes only a well-defined subset of issue advocacy. Id. ("In narrowly reading the FECA provisions in Buckley to avoid problems of vagueness and overbreadth, we nowhere suggested that a statute that was neither vague nor overbroad would be required to toe the same express advocacy line."). Another provision upheld in McConnell against a vagueness challenge was similarly specifically defined. Id. at 675 n.64; 2 U.S.C. § 431(20)(A)(iii) (limits on contributions to fund a "public communication that refers to a clearly identified candidate for Federal office (regardless of whether a candidate for State or local office is also mentioned or identified) and that promotes or supports a candidate for that office, or attacks or opposes a candidate for that office (regardless of whether the communication expressly advocates a vote for or against a candidate)," 2 U.S.C. § 431(20)(A)(iii), not unconstitutionally vague because "[t]he words 'promote,' 'oppose,' 'attack,' and 'support' clearly set forth the confines within which potential party speakers must act in order to avoid triggering the provision," McConnell, 124 S.Ct. at 675).



1 extremes are a multitude of activities that may influence an  
2 upcoming election but lack an accompanying statement of express  
3 purpose. As to these, the statute offers no guidance.

4 Potentially the most significant area of ambiguity involves  
5 activities of incumbent officials. Members of the executive and  
6 legislative branches engage in relatively continuous  
7 communication with the public that involves the use of resources  
8 in a way that will help a reelection effort and would therefore  
9 fit within the definition of "expenditure," if done by a  
10 "candidate" "for the purpose of influencing an election." For  
11 example, Vermont's Secretary of State has a publicly funded  
12 website that does not avoid capitalizing on the political  
13 opportunity offered. See Vermont Secretary of State Website, at  
14 <http://www.sec.state.vt.us/>. The home page features a photo of  
15 her with a backdrop of mountains and pine trees. Other pages of  
16 the site also find it necessary to include a photo of the  
17 incumbent. Such a website not only offers favorable exposure but  
18 also involves the preparation of materials easily put to

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<sup>8</sup>For example, the central link on the Secretary of State website is entitled "Visit the Secretary's Desk," a section that includes a picture of the incumbent on each page. Vermont Secretary of State's Website, at <http://www.sec.state.vt.us/secdesk/index.html>. This section also houses her "Biography," which includes the following passage:

As Secretary of State, Markowitz has enhanced the office's services to Vermont's businesses, banks and professionals. She has made customer service a priority and created a state of the art web site to serve the business community. Markowitz has also protected consumers of professional services by reducing the backlog of professional licensing complaints and by starting a public information campaign to inform consumers of their rights to competent professional services. Markowitz has also promoted civics education in Vermont's schools and has encouraged Vermonters to be active participants in democracy by volunteering in town government and by voting.

Id. at <http://www.sec.state.vt.us/secdesk/marko.html>.

The Vermont Attorney General's Office has a similar website. The first page houses a photograph of the incumbent, whose biography page reads as follows:

Welcome to the Home Page for Vermont Attorney General William H. Sorrell. The Attorney General is the chief law enforcement officer in the state. He is charged with representing the state in all matters in which the state is a party or has an interest. The office of the Attorney General is dedicated to the protection of the health and safety of all Vermonters

A native and resident of Burlington, Vermont, Attorney General William H. Sorrell graduated from the University of Notre Dame (AB, magna cum laude, 1970) and Cornell Law School (JD, 1974). Bill served as Chittenden County Deputy State's Attorney from 1975-1977; Chittenden County State's Attorney, 1977-78 and 1989-1992; engaged in private law practice at McNeil, Murray & Sorrell, 1978-1989; and served as Vermont's Secretary of Administration, 1992-1997. As State's Attorney, he personally successfully prosecuted several significant matters, including the first case allowing the admissibility of DNA evidence in a Vermont State Court and a ten-year-old homicide in which the victim's body had never been found.

Governor Howard Dean appointed General Sorrell to fill the unexpired term of now Vermont Chief Justice Jeffrey Amestoy, commencing May 1, 1997. He has enjoyed strong voter support in standing for election in November 1998, 2000 and 2002. His current term of office will expire in January 2005.

Bill is on the board of the American Legacy Foundation; has served on the Judicial Nominating Board; as president of United Cerebral Palsy of Vermont; secretary of the Vermont Coalition of the Handicapped; and on the board of the Winooski Valley

1 website underlines the political usefulness of the official  
2 Secretary of State website by offering visitors to the party's  
3 website a link to the official site. See Vermont Democratic  
4 Party Website, at <http://www.vtdemocrats.org>. See also  
5 Burlington GOP Website, at <http://www.burlingtongop.com> (linking  
6 to republican Jim Douglas' official Vermont Governor Website).

7 The statute offers no guidance on the many questions of how  
8 the relevant language is to be applied in practice to incumbents'  
9 activities, even though the answers may have a decisive impact on  
10 particular candidates. If most of the resource-consuming  
11 activities of officeholders are not "expenditures" because they  
12 occur in the course of the officeholders' public duties,  
13 incumbents will have an enormous advantage over challengers under  
14 expenditure limits. If most of these activities are  
15 "expenditures," an incumbent officeholder might well use the bulk  
16 of permitted expenditures in the first year of the two-year

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Park District. Bill has recently been elected the President-Elect of the National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) and will assume the Presidency of that organization for a one-year term beginning in June of 2004. He is chair of the NAAG Tobacco Committee and co-chair of its Consumer Protection Committee. In June of 2003, Bill was selected by his peers from around the country to receive NAAG's Kelley-Wyman Award, given annually to the "Outstanding Attorney General" who has done the most to further the goals of the nation's attorneys general.

Office of the Vermont Attorney General, at  
<http://www.atg.state.vt.us/display.php?smod=70>.

1 cycle. There are also hundreds of intermediary positions, all of  
2 which are arbitrary to one degree or another.

3 Some interpretive guidance, but not much, may be gleaned  
4 from the definition of "candidate." A "candidate" is someone who  
5 "has taken affirmative action to become a candidate."<sup>9</sup> Contrary  
6 to the assertion in a footnote in my colleagues' opinion,<sup>10</sup> the  
7 elastic phrase "affirmative action" and the self-evident  
8 circularity of using a word in its own definition leave ample  
9 room for disputes over the definition's meaning. Persons who  
10 fully intend to run for office, but have not announced, engage in  
11 all sorts of conduct to bring themselves into the public eye, to  
12 appear interested and informed on public issues, and to commend

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<sup>9</sup>The pertinent provision reads:

"Candidate" means an individual who has taken affirmative action to become a candidate for state, county, local or legislative office in a primary, special, general or local election. An affirmative action shall include one or more of the following:  
(A) accepting contributions or making expenditures totalling \$500.00 or more; or  
(B) filing the requisite petition for nomination under this title or being nominated by primary or caucus; or  
(C) announcing that he seeks an elected position as a state, county or local officer or a position as representative or senator in the general assembly.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(1).

<sup>10</sup>My colleagues assert that the word "candidate" is not vague because candidates know when they are candidates, and because "the notion that candidates do not know when they are candidates is belied by the specificity of the provision itself." Maj. Op. at 76 n.26. The issue, however, is not one of notice but one of enforcement. The question is not whether a candidate knows when he or she is a candidate, but what acts, or in the words of Act 64, "affirmative action[s]," will be deemed by Vermont authorities to trigger expenditure limits for purposes of the statute. Resolution of this question on a case-by-case basis ultimately rests within the discretion of some body external to the statute, whether it be the courts or the Secretary of State.

1 themselves as potential candidates to the media and political  
2 leaders. They attend meetings of school boards, selectmen, and  
3 various public forums. See Trial Tr. vol. IX at 135 (Elizabeth  
4 Ready). Even these efforts require the use of money or things of  
5 value, are intended to influence the outcome of an election, and  
6 therefore meet the definition of expenditure if done by a  
7 "candidate." That issue thus turns on whether such conduct  
8 constitutes an "affirmative action."

9 A degree of clarity is added by the next sentence of the  
10 definition, which states that affirmative action shall include  
11 three kinds of acts. However, most of the basic ambiguity is  
12 left in place because the use of language of inclusion does not  
13 suggest that what follows is an exclusive list of "affirmative  
14 act[s]." The first set of included acts involves accepting  
15 "contributions" or making "expenditures" in excess of a total of  
16 \$500. See id. § 2801(1)(A). This brings into the definition of  
17 candidate all of the ambiguities of the term "expenditure" -- and  
18 "related expenditure" -- including the pre-campaign conduct noted  
19 above that is fully intended to influence the outcome of an  
20 election. In addition, as the Secretary of State has noted, an  
21 individual not fully decided upon, but considering, a run for  
22 statewide office will trigger the definition of candidacy by  
23 driving four round trips between Swanton and Brattleboro at (the  
24 now obsolete) 31¢ per mile. See 2001 Memorandum, supra. A

1 person's official candidacy can also be triggered by acts of the  
2 person's political party deemed to be "related expenditures"  
3 valued in excess of \$500. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2809,  
4 2853(a); see also Ross Sneyd, Progressives' Poll Raises Question  
5 About Public Financing, Associated Press, Feb. 21, 2002. The two  
6 other acts included are filing a petition for nomination or  
7 announcing a candidacy. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§  
8 2801(1)(B), (1)(C). However, these provisions clarify things  
9 that were not ambiguous.

10 The limits on expenditures by candidates over the two-year  
11 cycle vary with the office sought, as follows:

12 Governor - \$300,000  
13 Lieutenant governor - \$100,000  
14 Other statewide offices - \$45,000  
15 State senator - \$4,000 plus \$2,500  
16 for each additional seat in the district  
17 County office - \$4,000  
18 State representative, single member  
19 district - \$2,000, two member district -  
20 \$3,000.

21  
22 See id. § 2805a(a).

23 Incumbents may spend 85% -- except for legislators, who may  
24 spend 90% -- of the expenditure limits. See id. § 2805a(c).

25 d) Limits on Contributions to Candidates

26 \_\_\_\_\_ "Contributions" are similarly broadly defined as any  
27 "payment, distribution, advance, deposit, loan or gift of money  
28 or anything of value paid or promised to be paid to a person for

1 the purpose of influencing an election . . . ." Id. § 2801(2).<sup>11</sup>  
2 The limits apply to "single source" donors, defined as "an  
3 individual, partnership, corporation, association, labor  
4 organization or any other organization or group of persons which  
5 is not a political committee or political party." See id. §§  
6 2801(6), 2805(a). Exempted from the definition of contribution  
7 are "services provided without compensation by individuals  
8 volunteering their time on behalf of a candidate." Id. §  
9 2801(2).

10 Ambiguities lurk in the words "paid to a candidate" with  
11 regard to a resource used in a campaign by the resource's owner,  
12 for example, a campaign worker's use of a personal vehicle. Some  
13 of these ambiguities are cured in part by the definition of  
14 "related expenditures," discussed below.

15 Uncured are the ambiguities in the term "services provided  
16 without compensation" by volunteers. These uncertainties are

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<sup>11</sup> The pertinent provision reads:

"Contribution" means a payment, distribution, advance, deposit, loan or gift of money or anything of value, paid or promised to be paid to a person for the purpose of influencing an election, advocating a position on a public question, or supporting or opposing one or more candidates in any election, but shall not include services provided without compensation by individuals volunteering their time on behalf of a candidate, political committee or political party. For purposes of this chapter, "contribution" shall not include a personal loan from a lending institution.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(2).

1 particularly great -- and very important -- with regard to  
2 professional services, particularly legal services, which are of  
3 great value to a candidate who runs for office under Act 64. A  
4 few of the many questions that will arise are: If an employee or  
5 partner engages in political activity during working hours and  
6 the firm does not dock the appropriate amount of compensation, is  
7 that a contribution by the firm? Can professionals who are not  
8 solo practitioners provide free professional services to  
9 candidates? If a professional is not generally free under a  
10 firm's employment arrangements to moonlight professional services  
11 to others, is the provision of such services to a candidate in  
12 non-working hours a contribution by the firm to the candidate  
13 valued according to the firm's usual billing rate? And so on.

14 The definition of "single source" also contains ambiguities.  
15 For example, rendering a non-obvious interpretation, the  
16 Secretary of State has stated that partnerships may make  
17 contributions as separate entities from the partners themselves,  
18 who are free to make identical contributions as individuals. See  
19 2001 Guide, supra. Questions also arise about corporations with  
20 only one shareholder, e.g., are professional corporations  
21 operated by solo practitioners firms separate from their owners  
22 for purposes of the contribution limits?

23 As noted, the contribution limits also apply to money,  
24 goods, or services provided to political parties, and the various



1 affiliates of a party are treated as one unit for the purpose of  
2 these limits. That is, a contribution to a Democratic town  
3 committee is limited as noted immediately infra, see Vt. Stat.  
4 Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2801(5), 2805(a), and is viewed as a  
5 contribution to all Democratic town, county, and state  
6 committees. Further, that contribution must be paid into a  
7 single statewide bank account, see supra note 1 and accompanying  
8 text. This provision therefore necessitates statewide reporting  
9 and control of spending by affiliates, which can receive funds  
10 only from the statewide bank account.

11 The limits on contributions also vary by office sought and  
12 political committee as follows:

13 Political party/political committee - \$2,000  
14 Statewide office - \$400  
15 State senate/county office - \$300  
16 State representative/local office - \$200.

17  
18 See id. § 2805(a).

19 e) Limits on "Related Expenditures"

20 \_\_\_\_\_Turning now to "related expenditures," they are defined as  
21 "expenditures" (including, therefore, things of value and  
22 importing the ambiguities described above) "intentionally  
23 facilitated by, solicited by or approved by the candidate." Id.

1    § 2809(c).<sup>12</sup> They include "expenditures" by individual supporters  
2    of candidates and by the political parties that sponsor the  
3    candidates. "Related expenditures" therefore include the value  
4    of mileage driven by campaign volunteers, the use by a volunteer  
5    of a residence, house phone, or computer, or other expenditures  
6    by volunteers for items such as paper, pens, etc. They also  
7    include the cost of polling, the printed information on  
8    candidates, and offices and phones, etc., provided by political  
9    parties.

10       The law regulates "related expenditures" in two ways.  
11    First, it treats them as contributions subject to the limits on  
12    contributions described above. Every use of an in-kind resource  
13    -- car, phone, computer, etc. -- must thus be valued and totaled  
14    with direct cash contributions on an ongoing basis. See id. §  
15    2809(a). Use of the in-kind resource must cease when the  
16    contribution limit is reached.

17       Second, Act 64 also treats related expenditures as candidate

---

<sup>12</sup>The pertinent provision reads:

For the purposes of this section, a "related campaign expenditure made on the candidate's behalf" means any expenditure intended to promote the election of a specific candidate or group of candidates, or the defeat of an opposing candidate or group of candidates, if intentionally facilitated by, solicited by or approved by the candidate or the candidate's political committee.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2809(c).

1 expenditures. When an individual's or party's related  
2 expenditures exceed \$50, the candidate on whose behalf they were  
3 made must treat them as campaign expenditures limited by the  
4 statute. See id. § 2809(b).<sup>13</sup> This means that, over a two-year  
5 period, every supporter of a candidate who drives the family car  
6 to campaign meetings or provides paper, pens, phones,  
7 refreshments, or rooms for meetings, must keep a running total  
8 and, when the total exceeds \$50 -- driving an average of seven  
9 miles per month at 31¢ per mile triggers this -- the candidate  
10 must fit the amount under the statutory limit on candidate  
11 expenditures.

12 As noted, related expenditures include activities of  
13 political parties, such as polls, mailings, dinners, and other

---

<sup>13</sup>Section 2809(b) reads in full:

A related campaign expenditure made on a candidate's behalf shall be considered an expenditure by the candidate on whose behalf it was made. However, if the expenditure did not exceed \$50.00, the expenditure shall not be considered an expenditure by the candidate on whose behalf it was made.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2809(b).

1 events.<sup>14</sup> If such party activities fall within the definition,  
2 they must be treated as contributions to, and expenditures by,  
3 the candidate. Such activities can, therefore, trigger an  
4 official candidacy, destroy eligibility for public financing, or  
5 exhaust the total that a candidate may spend in the two-year  
6 cycle. See 2001 Guide, supra; see also Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17,  
7 §§ 2805a, 2853. It will be recalled that the district court  
8 struck down the provisions of Act 64 subjecting related  
9 expenditures by parties to the Act's contribution limits, e.g.,

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<sup>14</sup>Section 2809(d) reads in full:

An expenditure made by a political party or by a political committee that recruits or endorses candidates, that primarily benefits six or fewer candidates who are associated with the political party or political committee making the expenditure, is presumed to be a related expenditure made on behalf of those candidates. An expenditure made by a political party or by a political committee that recruits or endorses candidates, that substantially benefits more than six candidates and facilitates party or political committee functions, voter turnout, platform promotion or organizational capacity shall not be presumed to be a related expenditure made on a candidate's behalf. In addition, an expenditure shall not be considered a "related campaign expenditure made on the candidate's behalf" if all of the following apply:

(1) The expenditures were made in connection with a campaign event whose purpose was to provide a group of voters with the opportunity to meet the candidate personally.

(2) The expenditures were made only for refreshments and related supplies that were consumed at that event.

(3) The amount of the expenditures for the event was less than \$100.00.

Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2809(d).

1 no more than \$400 in cash or related expenditures to a candidate  
2 for statewide office. Given the holding of Colorado II, 533 U.S.  
3 at 465, these provisions are now revived.

4 To illustrate the effect of these provisions, I have added  
5 as Appendix A a letter from the Secretary of State responding to  
6 an inquiry as to whether certain party activities should be  
7 deemed related expenditures attributable to a particular  
8 candidate. The letter makes it clear that parties and their  
9 candidates can avoid the risk of an unexpected attribution of a  
10 large sum to a campaign only by eschewing normal and necessary  
11 political activities. For example, according to the Secretary of  
12 State, there is danger in sharing party-funded poll results with  
13 candidates or potential candidates; candidates or potential  
14 candidates must avoid any knowledge of party mailings; candidates  
15 must avoid participation in planning or even approving a party  
16 event (a party event at which a candidate is introduced  
17 apparently must be a surprise party); and parties must avoid  
18 mailings that have a "primary thrust" of supporting candidates.  
19 See Appendix A, infra. The Secretary and Attorney General wisely  
20 advise, "Each party and potential candidate should review  
21 proposed activities with their own counsel," id., although this  
22 will be difficult for the candidate where he or she must remain  
23 ignorant of the event.

24 f) Costs of Compliance

1       The costs of complying with the law's various provisions are  
2 not exempted from the limits on expenditures. See 2001 Guide,  
3 supra. Raising contributions itself costs money and is an  
4 expenditure. See id. Indeed, the limits on the size of  
5 contributions increase these fundraising costs. Moreover, for a  
6 candidate to comply with the expenditure limits, he or she must,  
7 over a two-year period, either restrict the activities of  
8 supporters and the party organization, including the driving of  
9 personal vehicles, that constitute related expenditures, or keep  
10 in constant contact with supporters and the organization to  
11 monitor the size of such expenditures. A failure either to  
12 restrict or to monitor related expenditures will create the very  
13 real risk that, at a critical stage of the campaign, several  
14 supporters or party officials will report that they have exceeded  
15 the \$50 limit and have, therefore, made expenditures that must be  
16 counted as candidate expenditures and may exhaust the campaign  
17 limit. In a statewide campaign, the monitoring and limiting of  
18 related expenditures by individuals or party organizations might  
19 well require a full-time staff member.

20       Moreover, a candidate who does not have legal counsel and  
21 other professional services runs great risks. The ambiguities  
22 detailed above and problems of valuation will confront candidates  
23 and supporters -- or at least those who seek to comply with the  
24 law as written -- with an ongoing need for professional advice.

1 In fact, the Secretary of State and Attorney General advise that  
2 parties and candidates retain their own separate attorneys. See  
3 Appendix A. As noted, the cost of these attorneys, or the value  
4 of their services if obtained as unpaid-for related expenditures  
5 by individuals or a political party, are expenditures. See Vt.  
6 Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(3); infra Part V(e).

7 g) Treatment of the Press

8 \_\_\_\_\_Although this legislation was fostered by groups experienced  
9 in these matters, it does not contain the usual exemption for  
10 editorials, op-ed pieces, or even letters to the editor that  
11 endorse a particular candidate. See, e.g., N.Y. Elec. Law §  
12 14-124 (exempting "any person, association or corporation engaged  
13 in the publication or distribution of any newspaper or other  
14 publication issued at regular intervals in respect to the  
15 ordinary conduct of such business"); Conn. Gen. Stat. § 9-333w(c)  
16 (exempting "any editorial, news story, or commentary published in  
17 any newspaper, magazine or journal on its own behalf and upon its  
18 own responsibility and for which it does not charge or receive  
19 any compensation whatsoever").

20 Vermont's Secretary of State (the one with the photo-heavy  
21 website) has warned that if any individual or organization  
22 "requests a photograph, written presentation, or other assistance  
23 or information and informs the candidate that the requested  
24 information will be used in a publication . . . [providing such]

1 will trigger a related expenditure." 2001 Guide, supra.

2 Therefore when: (i) a Vermont candidate meets with an editorial  
3 board, commentator, or columnist hoping for an endorsement; (ii)  
4 a supporter of the candidate uses campaign materials to author an  
5 op-ed article for a paper; (iii) a campaign official sends a  
6 letter to the editor; or (iv) a campaign official conveys  
7 information to a reporter hoping for a news story; the value of  
8 any such publication is, under Act 64, a contribution and a  
9 related expenditure. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2809(c). See  
10 also infra Part IV(d).

11 h) Administration and Enforcement

12 \_\_\_\_\_I turn now to the processes governing administration and  
13 enforcement of this law. Power is delegated to the Secretary of  
14 State to "adopt rules necessary to administer the provisions"  
15 regarding related expenditures. Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §  
16 2809(f). Additionally, the Secretary of State has a general  
17 administrative role under Act 64, see, e.g., id. §§ 2803, 2810a,  
18 and she has actively offered her interpretations of the scope and  
19 application of the various provisions of Act 64, see, e.g., 2001  
20 Guide, supra; 1999 Memorandum, supra; 2001 Memorandum, supra. As  
21 the discussion above indicates, interpretive and valuation  
22 questions abound and, as Appendix A indicates, answers that are  
23 not prolix or ambiguous are often not available. Moreover, there  
24 is at present every indication that the power to "adopt rules



1 necessary to administer" the statute will be viewed by the  
2 Secretary of State as a very broad delegation of power. See  
3 infra Part V(e). For example, interpreting a provision requiring  
4 that all contributions in excess of \$50 be made by check, the  
5 Secretary has said that Act 64 allows so-called "pass-the-hat"  
6 fundraisers at which persons may anonymously contribute up to \$50  
7 in cash. See 2001 Guide, supra. Because the givers are  
8 anonymous, a candidate is not expected to monitor how many times  
9 an individual may have put \$50 into ever-moving "hats" at several  
10 "pass-the-hat" fundraisers. This ruling thus promotes  
11 fundraising practices that do not really control the size of cash  
12 contributions, unless, of course, an anonymous donor foolishly  
13 drops a \$100 bill into a hat.

14 Finally, candidates who want to seek a determination that an  
15 expenditure is a related expenditure made on behalf of their  
16 opponents may bring an expedited action in the Vermont Superior  
17 Court. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2809(e). Candidates  
18 wanting clarification of their own expenditures, or persons  
19 wishing to make expenditures on behalf of candidates, may request  
20 advisory opinions from the Secretary of State. See 2001 Guide,  
21 supra. The costs of bringing or defending such actions, or  
22 making such inquiries, are not exempted from the definition of  
23 expenditure.

#### 24 IV. THE BURDEN ON PROTECTED SPEECH

1           a) The Burden on Grassroots Political Activity

2           I begin with Act 64's burdening of grassroots political  
3 activities, not only because such activities are core-protected  
4 speech under the First Amendment -- not to say indispensable to  
5 our democracy -- but also because proponents of Act 64 purport to  
6 justify its ubiquitously restrictive provisions in the name of  
7 increasing and enhancing such activities. See 1997 Vt. Laws P.A.  
8 64 (H. 28) (findings nos. 6 and 8); Trial Tr. vol. IX at 124, 131  
9 (Elizabeth Ready). In fact, Act 64 relentlessly limits such  
10 activities and often renders them impossible. Indeed, the Act's  
11 most intrusive impact is not on the rich and powerful, who if  
12 necessary can engage in constitutionally protected independent  
13 political activity, but on the ordinary citizen, who needs to  
14 participate in organized activity to have a political voice.

15           As the Supreme Court noted in Buckley, even the humblest  
16 kind of political activity requires the expenditure of resources.  
17 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 19. If the law as drafted is upheld, the  
18 quality and quantity of grassroots activities will be severely  
19 diminished, although one may question whether a free people will  
20 even attempt serious compliance with a law that, were the  
21 constitutional stakes not so great, might easily be regarded as  
22 an act of legislative silliness. See infra Part VI(d) (failure  
23 of Act 64 supporters to comply with its reporting requirements);  
24 infra note 32 (reporting mileage expenses in round numbers,

1 despite per mile valuation of 31¢); supra note 4 (lapel buttons  
2 and bumper stickers must identify who paid for them, the payor's  
3 address, and the candidate benefitted).

4 1) Burden on Volunteer Activity

5 As noted, Act 64 treats all related expenditures as  
6 contributions and, when they exceed \$50, as expenditures by the  
7 candidate whose candidacy was supported. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit.  
8 17, § 2809(b). Related expenditures must therefore be counted in  
9 determining whether the candidate has complied with Act 64's  
10 spending limits. Because in-kind expenditures are included  
11 within related expenditures, any supporter engaging in the most  
12 common kind of political activities must keep detailed records  
13 over a two-year period of their value -- every mile driven, every  
14 stamp used, every use of a residence for campaign events,  
15 refreshments, pads, pencils, use of phones, etc. -- so that the  
16 total amount of such in-kind expenditures can be determined. If  
17 a supporter's related expenditures, alone or when added to  
18 monetary contributions to a candidate, reach the contribution  
19 limit, the supporter must stop all activities -- even driving to  
20 a campaign event -- or violate the law.

21 For example, if a supporter holds a "meet the candidate"  
22 event in his or her house, the value of the space used, possibly

1 the costs of refreshments,<sup>15</sup> and the purchase of stamps and  
2 envelopes for mailing invitations to local citizens are all  
3 related expenditures. See 1999 Memorandum, supra. Vermont's  
4 Secretary of State has stated that it usually takes one hundred  
5 invitations to attract twenty persons to a "meet the candidate"  
6 event. See id. Thirty-seven dollars would thus be used for  
7 postage alone for one event for twenty people. See United States  
8 Postal Service, First-Class Mail Rate Highlights, available at  
9 http://www.usps.com/ratecase/first.htm. As the Secretary of  
10 State of Vermont has noted, such "meet the candidate" events are  
11 therefore severely limited by Act 64. See 1999 Memorandum,  
12 supra.

13 Adding to Act 64's intrusiveness on grassroots activities is  
14 its treatment of such related expenditures as expenditures by the  
15 candidate. Driving to meetings is among the most garden variety  
16 of grassroots political activities. But, under the law, a  
17 supporter who averages seven miles per month over the two-year  
18 cycle will have exceeded \$50 in mileage expenses, and the

---

<sup>15</sup>There is an exemption for certain expenses relating to "meet the candidate" events in Section 2809(d). See supra notes 12, 14. Because Section 2809(d) relates generally to activities of political parties and committees and the exemption for meet the candidate events begins with the words "In addition," the exemption may well have been intended to apply only to party- or committee-sponsored events. The Secretary of State has indicated that the Attorney General believes it to apply to all such events, however sponsored. See 1999 Memorandum, supra. The Secretary of State's position is unclear. In any event, the Secretary of State has opined that, even with the exemption, Act 64 unduly discourages such events because their costs involve non-exempted expenses. See id.

1 candidate in question must treat that and all other  
2 resource-consuming activities by the individual as campaign  
3 expenditures.

4 One effect is to prevent a candidate's supporters from  
5 exercising free choice as to what activities to undertake.  
6 Because the candidate's total expenditures are limited, the  
7 activities of all supporters must be coordinated and controlled  
8 top-down by the candidate for two full years so that the  
9 candidate can budget a campaign and not have to end it  
10 prematurely because of belatedly discovered related expenditures  
11 in excess of \$50 that exhaust the expenditure limits. Were that  
12 to happen, a candidate, or any supporter over the \$50 limit,  
13 would not even be able to drive the family car to the local town  
14 green to make a speech.<sup>16</sup>

15 Act 64 therefore creates great incentives for campaigns to  
16 reduce the level of grassroots activities. The danger of  
17 unexpectedly reaching the expenditure limits will require a  
18 campaign to monitor, at a cost of time and resources, those  
19 grassroots activities it allows. Fewer such activities will be

---

<sup>16</sup>Another common form of grassroots activity is the contribution of time and expert services by local professionals to candidates. Here, as is so often the case, Act 64 is ambiguous, but the provision of such services may well be deemed a contribution and related expenditure of some considerable size, particularly if the professional is in a firm that normally restricts the moonlighting of professional services. Indeed, to exempt professionals would be precisely counter to the purpose of reducing the influence of special interests -- e.g., clients of lawyers or the lawyers themselves -- and the well-to-do.

1 allowed because of these monitoring costs and because expenditure  
2 limits require that priority be given to activities that reach  
3 the largest number of voters, such as media advertising.

#### 4 2) Burden on Local Party-Funded Activity

5 Many grassroots political activities are sponsored and  
6 subsidized by local political party affiliates. See Trial Tr.  
7 vol. IX at 138-39 (Elizabeth Ready) (party helps with "grass  
8 roots organizing," "voter I.D.," and "get-out-the-vote"). Act 64  
9 diminishes almost to the point of elimination financial support  
10 for local party activity by treating all state, county, and local  
11 party committees as a single fundraising unit for purposes of  
12 raising, and therefore spending, money. Because all  
13 contributions must go to the state party account, all  
14 expenditures by every local committee must necessarily be funded  
15 out of it. Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2801(5), 2831; see supra  
16 note 1. The effect is, first, to reduce severely the amount of  
17 funding for such activity -- under the limits on party related  
18 expenditures and contributions -- and, second, to force political  
19 parties into some form of top-down control -- under the single  
20 unit/single-bank-account rule for contributions to parties. See  
21 Secretary of State Being Criticized for Fund Raising Ruling,  
22 Associated Press, May 28, 1999 (reporting that both Republican  
23 and Democratic party leaders were shocked by the single unit  
24 rule); supra note 1. A town committee of a party may not even

1 hold an organizational event with refreshments for its members  
2 without obtaining the modest funding needed from the statewide  
3 authority.

4 Moreover, limits on contributions and expenditures force  
5 political decisionmakers to give priority to activities that  
6 reach the largest number of voters. It is now known that Act 64  
7 forces party committees, even without the newly-revived limits on  
8 party contributions and related expenditures, to concentrate more  
9 on mass media activities than grassroots activities. See 2001  
10 Memorandum, supra; Campaigns Meant Cash for Vermont Media,  
11 Associated Press, Nov. 10, 2000 ("That was one of the unintended  
12 consequences of the campaign finance law, that we saw much more  
13 spending on the media,' [Secretary of State Markowitz] said.")).

14 b) The Burden on Candidates' Speech

15 The district court concluded that Act 64's limits on  
16 campaign expenditures are based on past experience and, with  
17 limited exceptions, are substantially the same as average  
18 expenditures by candidates in the past. See Landell v. Sorrell,  
19 118 F. Supp. 2d 459, 471-72 (D. Vt. 2000). Putting aside for  
20 purposes of argument that expenditure limits are per se  
21 unconstitutional under Buckley, the level of the limits set by  
22 Act 64 clearly places unconstitutional restraints on the speech  
23 of candidates for office. First, past experience is no guide.  
24 Second, average spending in past elections is a standard that

1 strongly favors incumbents and imposes a one-size-fits-all  
2 philosophy that severely constricts debate in the most important  
3 elections. Third, Act 64's spending levels are so low that,  
4 combined with the draconian restrictions on party spending, they  
5 will drastically reduce political debate in Vermont.

6 1) Past Experience

7 A) Inaccuracy of Reports From Past Elections

8 It is impossible to determine the level of relevant campaign  
9 spending by Vermont candidates in the past, that is,  
10 "expenditures" using Act 64's definitions. It is not altogether  
11 clear what evidence the district court specifically considered in  
12 reaching its conclusions. However, on the face of the district  
13 court's decision, it appears that the court relied heavily on  
14 testimony, some of which was conflicting, see id. at 470-72, and  
15 did not scrutinize in detail documentary evidence of past  
16 practices.

17 More significantly, even the candidate disclosure reports  
18 filed under Vermont law for past elections will vastly understate  
19 the level of spending when Act 64's two-year election cycle and  
20 its new and much broader definitions of expenditures and related  
21 expenditures are used. There are some expenditure reports in the  
22 Trial Exhibits, but they are limited to particular candidates'  
23 out-of-pocket expenditures made during a "campaign." See, e.g.,  
24 Trial Exs. vol. IV at E-1311 (Campaign Finance Report of Peter



1 Brownell). Act 64's limits on expenditures, however, apply, as  
2 noted, to all expenditures made over a two-year period  
3 immediately following the last general election and ending with  
4 the next general election. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§  
5 2801(9), 2805a(a).

6 Furthermore, under prior law, there was no provision  
7 regarding related expenditures. There was, therefore, no reason  
8 even to collect information on, much less to calculate and  
9 report, related expenditures by supporters and political parties.  
10 In particular, there was no reason to calculate the value of  
11 in-kind related expenditures by supporters, such as mileage, all  
12 of which count toward the expenditure limits under Act 64.  
13 Finally, there was also no need under prior law for candidates to  
14 segregate and calculate expenditures on their behalf by party  
15 committees, likely a huge amount. See infra note 19 and  
16 accompanying text. The value of such support must be treated  
17 under Act 64 as a candidate expenditure. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit.  
18 17, § 2809(d).

19 We know only one thing for certain: what candidates deemed  
20 to be expenditures in the past -- generally direct cash  
21 expenditures out of a campaign's checking account -- will be  
22 vastly less than what must be so regarded under Act 64's  
23 definitions of expenditures and related expenditures.

24 There is another reason why prior spending is not a reliable

1 guide for the needs of campaigns operating under Act 64. Act 64  
2 imposes substantial costs of compliance with its terms that were  
3 not encountered under the prior law. As noted, Vermont's  
4 Secretary of State has indicated that most candidates will be  
5 unable to proceed safely without legal advice, see Appendix A,  
6 and candidates running for statewide office may need the services  
7 of an accountant as well. In the case of legislative candidates,  
8 legal assistance alone could literally exhaust all the  
9 expenditures -- e.g. \$2,000 for House candidates -- allowable  
10 under Act 64. Again, such assistance from a candidate's  
11 political party will be limited because retention of counsel by a  
12 party organization to help candidates would be a related  
13 expenditure allocable to individual campaigns.

14 Much time and possibly much support staff will also be  
15 consumed by the need to monitor, coordinate, and control related  
16 expenditures by supporters that must be charged to the campaign.  
17 Finally, some candidates may encounter costs in bringing and  
18 defending lawsuits concerning the myriad of interpretive  
19 questions that will arise as a result of Act 64's ambiguous  
20 provisions.

21 B) Inadequacy of Average Spending in Past  
22 Elections as a Constitutional Standard

23 The district court deemed the average campaign expenditures  
24 in past elections to be a relevant legal guide, Landell v.

1 Sorrell, 118 F. Supp. 2d at 471-72, and my colleagues agree, see  
2 Maj. Op. at 66.

3       However, even if accurately determined using Act 64's  
4 definitions, the use of average expenditures in past elections  
5 inevitably yields expenditure levels that strongly favor  
6 incumbents. First, incumbent legislators in Vermont and  
7 elsewhere have ample advantages over challengers under spending  
8 limits, discussed infra, and therefore prefer low limits.  
9 Second, the average of past expenditures is calculated by  
10 including legislative elections that were not seriously contested  
11 or perhaps not contested at all -- elections in which little  
12 communication took place and little was spent. See Trial Exs.  
13 vol. III at E-0967 (appellees' expert's calculation of average  
14 expenditures, which includes low-spending candidates whose  
15 spending is unknown by assuming they spent \$500, the maximum  
16 allowed before filing is required). It is altogether possible,  
17 therefore, that the average expenditure in past elections is less  
18 than the amount spent by every candidate who ran in a seriously  
19 contested race and perhaps even probable that it is less than the  
20 amount spent by any challenger who successfully challenged an

1 incumbent.<sup>17</sup> Average past spending therefore has little relevance  
2 unless the goal is to disadvantage challengers.

3 The use of average past expenditures is inappropriate for  
4 other reasons. The average will reflect only past patterns of  
5 citizen behavior in acquiring political information and prior  
6 methods of candidate communications with citizens. When citizens  
7 congregate in very large numbers for frequent community events,  
8 those events may well be effective vehicles for candidate  
9 communication with voters. When large community events become  
10 less frequent or less important in peoples' lives and voters turn  
11 to other sources to acquire political information -- some may  
12 rely heavily on a certain newspaper, some on particular radio or  
13 television stations, some on websites -- other means of  
14 communication, perhaps far more expensive, must be used by  
15 candidates for effective communication.

16 Part of the problem is simply the one-size-fits-all  
17 philosophy of expenditure limits. Different legislative  
18 districts may require different modes of communication.  
19 Geographic size, the existence and nature of local newspapers,  
20 radio and television stations, demographic factors, the issues,

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<sup>17</sup>For example, the 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act, the subject of the challenge in Buckley, set the limits on expenditures for House of Representative candidates in general elections at \$70,000. See 424 U.S. at 55. Adjusted for inflation, this limit was below the amount spent by every successful challenger to a House incumbent in the 1972 election. See Joint Appendix at 269-318, Buckley (Nos. 75-436 and 75-437). Nevertheless, the \$70,000 limit was far above the average expenditure by House candidates in 1972, \$39,884. See id. at 447.

1 and so on, all affect the costs of communication with voters and  
2 may do so differently in many districts for the same legislative  
3 house.

4 Moreover, because the one-size-fits-all philosophy fails to  
5 recognize the differences between elections, it strikes at the  
6 heart of democracy. The view that there is an average election  
7 that can serve as the compulsory norm for all elections is quite  
8 dangerous, even apart from its pro-incumbent bias. Past averages  
9 have almost nothing to do with the communication needs in  
10 elections in which candidates strongly disagree over issues that  
11 divide large portions of the public and a clear-cut attempt is  
12 being made to alter government policies on those issues.

13 It is the non-average election that is often the historic  
14 election, one in which the outcome is heavily contested, the  
15 debate is most widespread, the public interest is at its highest,  
16 and the most money is spent. Such an election was the New  
17 Hampshire primary of 1968, in which Eugene McCarthy, later a  
18 plaintiff in Buckley, badly damaged a sitting President in a  
19 debate over the Vietnam war in one of the most heavily financed  
20 primary races in history. McCarthy spent a then-unprecedented  
21 \$12 per vote received in that single primary. See George F.  
22 Will, Rules to Keep the Rascals In, Newsweek, Jan. 26, 1976, at  
23 80.

24 Vermont had a similar election in 2000, in which civil

1 unions and other divisive issues were at stake. See Ellen  
2 Goodman, Vermonters Are Caught up in a Civil War over Civil  
3 Unions, Boston Globe, Nov. 2, 2000, at A27; Tom Puleo, Governor's  
4 Race Tests Vermont Values; "Gay Marriage" Issue Is Monopolizing a  
5 Bitter Battle, Hartford Courant, Oct. 30, 2000, at A1. More  
6 money was spent in the 2000 election than in any prior Vermont  
7 election. See Lawmakers To Revisit Campaign Finance Law,  
8 Associated Press, Nov. 14, 2000 (noting that the 2000  
9 gubernatorial campaigns set the record for money spent); see also  
10 Ross Sneyd, Campaign 2000 Involved Lots of Spending, Associated  
11 Press, Dec. 18, 2000 (describing record spending levels for many  
12 elections across Vermont in 2000).

13 McCarthy's New Hampshire campaign of 1968 had national  
14 significance, while the 2000 Vermont gubernatorial election had  
15 unquestioned state, and possibly national, ramifications. Both  
16 involved unprecedented citizen participation. See 2000 General  
17 Election Results for Gubernatorial Race, available at  
18 <http://cgi.sec.state.vt.us/cgi-shl/nhayer.exe> ("2000 Election  
19 Results") (showing that voter turnout increased in Vermont by  
20 34.5% in the 2000 election compared to previous election); Hugh  
21 Gregg, A Tall State Revisited, at app. (1993), available at  
22 <http://www.politicallibrary.org/TallState/1968dem.html>. And both  
23 involved, not surprisingly, unprecedented campaign spending.

24 C) Evidence of Contested Elections in Vermont

1 Campaign finance reports of Vermont candidates provide ample  
2 evidence, of which we may take judicial notice, Fed. R. Evid.  
3 201; Kramer v. Time Warner, Inc., 937 F.2d 767, 774 (2d Cir.  
4 1991) (court can take judicial notice of records filed with the  
5 SEC), that contested elections in Vermont involve spending well  
6 in excess of Act 64's limits, even without including related  
7 individual and party expenditures. In the last two gubernatorial  
8 elections in Vermont, the major party candidates reported  
9 expenditures in amounts that were double or almost triple Act  
10 64's limits. See Campaign Finance Report of Howard Dean, Dec.  
11 18, 2000;<sup>18</sup> Campaign Finance Report of Ruth Dwyer, Dec. 18, 2000;  
12 Campaign Finance Report of Doug Racine, Dec. 14, 2002; Campaign  
13 Finance Report of Jim Douglas, Dec. 16, 2002. Moreover, even a  
14 third party candidate for governor exceeded the limits in one  
15 election, Campaign Finance Report of Anthony Pollina, Dec. 18,  
16 2000, and another third party candidate came within a whisker of  
17 the limits in the next gubernatorial election, Campaign Finance  
18 Report of Cornelius Hogan, Dec. 16, 2002. In the last race for  
19 Lieutenant Governor, both major party candidates and a third

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<sup>18</sup>When Howard Dean, the Vermont governor whose rallying cry for Act 64 is quoted in the opening paragraph of my colleagues' opinion, ran for the Democratic nomination for President, he rejected public financing so that he could spend unlimited amounts. He made that decision at a time when all of his Democratic opponents were abiding by spending limits -- i.e. no "arms race." Although exact numbers are not available, Dean's rivals estimated that he spent as much as \$6 million in the neighboring state of New Hampshire. Mike Madden, Democrats Scrambling For Cash As Well As Votes, Gannett News Service, Jan. 31, 2004.

1 party candidate exceeded the limits by 63%, 40%, and 38%  
2 respectively. See Campaign Finance Report of Peter Shumlin, Dec.  
3 14, 2002; Campaign Finance Report of Brian E. Dubie, Dec. 16,  
4 2002; Campaign Finance Report of Anthony Pollina, Dec. 16, 2002.

5 The factual support for the conclusion reached by my  
6 colleagues -- that contested elections will not be substantially  
7 affected by Act 64's limits -- is found largely in opinion  
8 testimony offered by proponents of the Act. The already slim  
9 value of that testimony is further undermined by the fact that  
10 many of those witnesses, when they ran for office, actually  
11 exceeded Act 64's limits in contested elections, again not  
12 counting related expenditures by individuals and parties. See  
13 Campaign Finance Report of Anthony Pollina, Dec. 18, 2000 (spent  
14 \$335,412.46 in Governor's race, with expenditure limit of  
15 \$300,000); Campaign Finance Report of Cheryl Rivers, Dec. 18,  
16 2000 (spent \$19,290.39 in senate race, with expenditure limit of  
17 \$9,000); Campaign Finance Report of Elizabeth Ready, Dec. 18,  
18 2000 (spent \$77,313.47 in auditor's race, with expenditure limit  
19 of \$45,000, and outspent opponent by 20%, although she had  
20 testified at trial that she would abide by Act 64's limit in that  
21 race); Trial Tr. vol. IX, at 147-51 (Elizabeth Ready) (testifying  
22 that she exceeded the current expenditure limits in four of her  
23 six senate races). In the view of some of these witnesses, of  
24 course, contested elections are "arms races" that should be



1 prohibited. See Trial Tr. vol. IX, at 147-151 (Elizabeth Ready).  
2 See infra Part V(d) (1).

3 2) Effect of Act 64's Expenditure Limits on  
4 Candidates

5 Act 64's expenditure limits will, therefore, greatly hamper  
6 Vermont candidates in getting their message to the public. The  
7 Secretary of State has noted that the expenditure limit for State  
8 Treasurer -- \$45,000 -- leaves, after advertising, "no money to  
9 hire a campaign manager, do direct mail, lawn signs or bumper  
10 stickers." David Gram, Dems Needle Each Other On Spending in  
11 Treasurer's Race, Associated Press, May 29, 2002. Expenditure  
12 limits should be expected to have precisely such effects because  
13 they force candidates to give exclusive priority to the methods  
14 of communication that reach the greatest number of voters.

15 The Secretary of State has also noted that the "tight  
16 contribution limits" of Act 64 were part of the cause of an  
17 "unprecedented amount" of independent expenditures in the 2000  
18 Vermont election. See 2001 Memorandum, supra. As a result,  
19 candidates complained that "mailings or advertisements made on  
20 their behalf attributed to them opinions they did not hold, or  
21 sent negative messages about their opponent, in violation of  
22 their stated intent to run a positive campaign." Id.  
23 Expenditure limits will encourage even more extra-campaign  
24 spending and leave candidates without the means to set the record

1 straight.

2 Even grassroots "meet the candidate" events in supporters'  
3 homes are severely limited, see 1999 Memorandum, supra, as noted  
4 above, and, although my colleagues mention, among other things,  
5 town barbecues and dinners as cheap but effective campaign  
6 methods, see Maj. Op. at 64, the nature -- when and where held  
7 and how often in the campaign season -- usefulness -- what kind  
8 of voters and in what numbers attend -- cost -- who pays -- and  
9 legal status under Act 64 -- an "expenditure" or "related  
10 expenditure" -- of these events is not elaborated in the record  
11 or discussed in my colleagues' opinion, notwithstanding the  
12 critical role such factors logically play in their opinion's  
13 analysis. In fact, these methods may be neither cheap -- at  
14 least by Act 64's meager standards -- nor effective.

15 There is, therefore, simply no data in the record suggesting  
16 that anything other than a drastic reduction of political speech  
17 will result from Act 64's expenditure limits. Indeed, the effect  
18 will likely be much harsher than most would expect for the  
19 reasons that follow.

20 First, low limits exacerbate the highly discriminatory and  
21 arbitrary effect of Act 64's selection of a two-year cycle. In a  
22 single-member Vermont House district, a candidate may spend --  
23 counting related individual and party expenditures -- only \$2,000  
24 over the two-year cycle. Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2805a(a)(5).

1 A candidate who seeks to comply fully with Act 64 will be  
2 severely constricted. Any legal fees will count toward that  
3 limit. Id. § 2801(3). Mileage and other expenses of supporters  
4 can quickly eat up the spending allowed. A candidate who has to  
5 run in a contested primary election may well be unable to  
6 communicate with the public at all -- literally stuck in his or  
7 her driveway -- in a general election against an opponent whose  
8 campaign is just beginning.

9 Second, the harshness of the limits on candidate  
10 expenditures is greatly exacerbated by the fact that a  
11 candidate's campaign cannot expect the candidate's party to  
12 provide the usual supplemental support of polls, offices,  
13 computers, phones, advertisements, mailings, and other events,  
14 such as a party-funded booth at a country fair, if the conduct  
15 "primarily benefits" fewer than seven candidates. See supra  
16 notes 12, 14. Parties may make contributions and related  
17 expenditures benefitting candidates that total, over a two-year  
18 period, no more than \$400 for each candidate for statewide  
19 office, \$300 for each candidate for the Senate, and \$200 for each  
20 candidate for the House. See supra Part III(b)-(c). In Vermont,  
21 there are six statewide offices, thirty State Senators, and 150  
22 State Representatives. Under Act 64, a political party -- the  
23 state party and all affiliates combined -- can, over a two-year  
24 period, make a total of only \$41,400 in contributions to, or

1 related expenditures on behalf of, all its candidates for non-  
2 federal office.

3 Although Colorado II allows such restrictions, 533 U.S. at  
4 465, their effect must be considered in gauging the impact of  
5 candidate expenditure limits. A statewide poll regarding  
6 candidates for the six statewide offices would cost over \$6,000.  
7 Letter from Mark F. Michaud, Vermont Democratic Party, to Vermont  
8 Attorney General William Sorrell 1 (Feb. 28, 2002). If the poll  
9 data were shared with the six candidates, the poll would exceed  
10 Act 64's limits (\$400 by 6) by over 100%. See Appendix A. The  
11 full effect of Act 64's limits has, of course, not been  
12 experienced yet,<sup>19</sup> because the district court invalidated  
13 candidate expenditure limits and the contribution/related  
14 expenditure limits on political parties. With these limits now  
15 revived, limits on expenditures by candidates will dramatically  
16 lessen political debate in Vermont.

17 Finally, as noted, Act 64's one-size-fits-all approach makes  
18 no provision for candidates to adjust to economic, demographic,  
19 cultural, or technological changes that increase the costs of  
20 campaigns. Although Act 64 is premised on the view that  
21 elections are "too expensive" -- a view expressly rejected as a

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<sup>19</sup>For example, in the 2000 election, the Democratic Party made cash  
contributions -- not including related expenditures -- in the amount of  
\$28,000 to Elizabeth Ready for her campaign for Auditor of Accounts. See  
Campaign Finance Report of Elizabeth Ready, Dec. 18, 2000. Under Act 64, cash  
contributions and related expenditures could not have exceeded \$400.

1 valid reason for expenditure limits in Buckley, 424 U.S. at 57 --  
2 and that candidates can make them cheaper, the "costs" of  
3 campaigning are not within the control of candidates.

4 The costs of resources to be used in campaigns are  
5 determined by competitive markets. Resources used in campaigns  
6 are also used, and far more extensively, for non-political  
7 communication. The prices of those resources are therefore set  
8 in markets that are independent of political campaigns and in  
9 which candidates for office must compete with non-political  
10 consumers. An inability to pay market price for communication  
11 resources will stifle political speech. Nevertheless, there is  
12 no provision for future inflation in Act 64's limits, although  
13 even slight annual increases in the consumer price index will in  
14 a few short years substantially reduce further the ability of  
15 candidates to communicate with voters. For example, the cost of  
16 postage stamps is now higher than when Act 64 was passed. See It  
17 Now Costs 3 Cents More to Mail a First-Class Letter, N.Y. Times,  
18 June 30, 2002, at 18. For another example, the price of gasoline  
19 has risen considerably since then. (The reimbursement rate for  
20 mileage driven by federal employees has been increased from 31¢  
21 at the time of Act 64's passage to 37½¢ in July, 2004. See U.S.  
22 General Services Administration, Privately Owned Vehicle  
23 Reimbursement Rates, at <http://www.gsa.gov> (effective Jan. 1,  
24 2004).)

1           As noted above, the effect of rising costs has already been  
2   observed by Vermont's Secretary of State. With regard to a  
3   campaign for State Treasurer -- with an expenditure limit of  
4   \$45,000 -- she noted that, "The cost of paid media has changed  
5   quite a bit in the last four or five years. With prices for  
6   television ads, and even radio ads, running a campaign on \$45,000  
7   will leave you no money to hire a campaign manager, do direct  
8   mail, lawn signs or bumper stickers." David Gram, Dems Needle  
9   Each Other on Spending in Treasurer's Race, Associated Press, May  
10  29, 2002. It goes without saying that there also would be no  
11  room under the spending cap for grassroots activities that would  
12  have to be included as related expenditures.

13           Act 64 also does not take into account the fact that a  
14  combination of demographic, cultural and technological changes  
15  may require resort to ever more costly methods of communication.  
16  Campaigns may communicate with voters only by going to where  
17  voters are or using a medium watched or listened to by voters.  
18  My colleagues assume the existence of numerous public events in  
19  which large groups of voters frequently congregate and can be  
20  personally addressed. See Maj. Op. at 64. However, voters are  
21  not required to abide by such assumptions and to congregate in  
22  great numbers at scheduled times during political campaigns or  
23  even to welcome an interruption of free time at home by a  
24  candidate's personal visit. Rather, they may prefer to get their

1 information through technology that puts candidates at the mercy  
2 of a competitive market and technological advances.

3 For example, because the development of cable television  
4 broadened viewership opportunities for the public, it also  
5 required candidates who wished to communicate through television  
6 to buy ads on many, instead of a few, channels. For another  
7 example, the development of the Internet has made it possible for  
8 candidates to offer websites to provide information to potential  
9 voters, a fantasy fifteen years ago. The Executive Director of  
10 the Vermont Democratic Party has opined that a candidate website  
11 is now "a necessity." Nancy Remsen, Election Notebook 2002,  
12 Burlington Free Press, Sept. 9, 2002, at 1B.

13 Act 64 takes a Luddite view of political communication --  
14 one witness for the defense even suggested the bicycle as a means  
15 of travel in campaigns, Trial Tr. vol. IX, at 134 (Elizabeth  
16 Ready) -- and prevents candidates from adjusting to new  
17 demographic and cultural patterns and costs, even though the  
18 Supreme Court has expressly declared that government is not to  
19 make that choice. See Meyer, 486 U.S. at 424; Buckley, 424 U.S.  
20 at 57.

21 c) The Burden on Challengers

22 The fact that limits on candidate expenditures tend to  
23 disadvantage challengers in campaigns against incumbents is  
24 recognized both in the provisions of Act 64 -- which has slightly

1 lower limits for incumbents -- and in its legislative history.  
2 See, e.g., Hearing on H. 28 Before the Vt. House Comm. on Local  
3 Gov't, 64th Biennial Sess. (1997) (statement of Rep. Terry  
4 Bouricius); Hearing on H. 28 Before the Senate Comm. on Gov't  
5 Operations, 64th Biennial Sess. (1997) (statements of Sens. Seth  
6 Bongartz and Jean Ankeney). The Supreme Court has also noted  
7 that limits on candidate expenditures may "handicap a candidate  
8 who lacked substantial name recognition or exposure of his views  
9 before the start of the campaign." Buckley, 424 U.S. at 57.

10 Incumbents in effect have capital -- name recognition, an  
11 existing organization, tested donor lists, etc. -- to draw upon  
12 without making expenditures as defined in Act 64, while virtually  
13 every significant capital-building activity by newcomers requires  
14 the use of resources that count toward the expenditure limits.  
15 Equally important is the fact that incumbents have methods of  
16 getting their name before the public that are not limited by Act  
17 64, while challengers do not.

18 To take an example from Vermont, the State Treasurer, an  
19 elected official, publishes newspaper ads at state expense  
20 listing names of Vermonters who may have funds in dormant bank  
21 accounts, unclaimed insurance refunds, or unclaimed stock  
22 dividends. These ads have contained photos of the incumbent  
23 Treasurer and have run in the October of election years. In  
24 2001, the ad read, "Jim Thompson, Vermont state treasurer, may



1 have money for you." Treasurer Candidates Show Signs of  
2 Restraint, Burlington Free Press, Sept. 23, 2002, at 1B. To take  
3 another Vermont example, whereas a challenger to an incumbent  
4 Secretary of State can obtain a Madison Avenue-type website only  
5 by spending money counted as an expenditure, the incumbent can  
6 use state funds for such a site, and post on it materials casting  
7 a favorable light on the incumbent, omitting only the words "Vote  
8 for me." See Vermont Secretary of State's Website, at  
9 <http://www.sec.state.vt.us>; Office of the Attorney General  
10 Website, at <http://www.atg.vt.us>; see also supra Part III(c).  
11 Moreover, the Secretary's political party provides visitors to  
12 its site a link to the Secretary's site. See supra Part III(c).

13 The term "arms race" has acquired an almost talismanic  
14 quality in the course of this litigation, serving as a quip that  
15 answers every concern about Act 64's effect on political speech.  
16 In fact, however, slogans about stopping the "arms race" are  
17 often cover for the disarming of challengers. See infra Part  
18 V(d).

19 For example, one of the witnesses whose testimony is relied  
20 upon heavily by my colleagues, Maj. Op. at 40-41, 42, 50, 51, 58-  
21 59, 65 is a very successful electoral official in Vermont who  
22 testified to the "arms race" at the State Senate level, Trial Tr.  
23 vol. IX, at 147, 150 (Elizabeth Ready). As an incumbent and  
24 undoubtedly well-meaning supporter of Act 64's limits, which she

1 had exceeded (not including related individual and party  
2 expenditures) in most of her (always successful) campaigns, see  
3 id. at 147, supra Part IV(b)(1)(C), she testified that she had  
4 been forced to make larger expenditures because her opponents ran  
5 advertisements and posted yard signs that gained the attention of  
6 voters. She was then compelled to do the same, instead of  
7 relying on her preferred campaign method of person-to-person  
8 contact, because voters seeing her opponents' ads and yard signs  
9 wondered whether she was running for reelection. See id. at 147-  
10 48. In her view, the "arms race" forcing her to run ads and post  
11 yard signs should be stopped.

12 So used, "arms race" is a pejorative term that refers to  
13 contested elections in which challengers spend resources to run  
14 serious campaigns. Incumbents do not restrain their own  
15 acquisition and use of perquisites of office that help them win  
16 reelection, but these perquisites are never mentioned as part of  
17 the "arms race." For example, the witness described above, who  
18 offered yard signs as evidence of an "arms race," now holds the  
19 elected post of State Auditor with a website that has her photo  
20 and various pages listing her goals and accomplishments. Office  
21 of the Vermont State Auditor Website, at  
22 <http://www.state.vt.us/sao>. To boot, the Vermont Democratic  
23 Party website offers visitors a link to the Auditor Website. See  
24 supra Part III(c). Expenditure limits therefore stop "arms

1 races" by challengers, leaving incumbents with ample weapons.

2 Moreover, Act 64's selection of the two-year cycle as the  
3 governing time period collapses primary and general elections  
4 under one expenditure limit and will in the main favor  
5 incumbents, who face serious primary challengers less frequently  
6 than those seeking a party nomination to challenge an incumbent.  
7 Indeed, there appears to be little other reason justifying the  
8 choice of the two-year cycle.

9 The degree of the adverse effect of Act 64 on challengers  
10 will depend in large part on discretionary, arbitrary, and often  
11 ad hoc rulings on what kinds of activities and speech by  
12 incumbents will be deemed to be official communication by  
13 officeholders to the public and what kinds will be deemed to be  
14 campaign expenditures. Of course, virtually every activity by an  
15 incumbent officeholder intending to seek reelection will have a  
16 political effect, and such officeholders will to one degree or  
17 another take that effect into account in determining their  
18 behavior. The law provides for marginally lower limits on  
19 expenditures by incumbents, but this largely inconsequential  
20 difference will be rendered irrelevant so long as the substantial  
21 communications by incumbents are not deemed campaign  
22 expenditures. Conversely, the advantage of incumbents under the  
23 Act's limits will also depend on what activities by non-announced  
24 challengers are deemed to be by a "candidate" and "for the

1 purpose of influencing an election." See generally Vt. Stat.  
2 Ann. tit. 17, § 2801(1), (3).

3 These issues, of course, will likely be addressed in the  
4 first instance by an incumbent official, the Secretary of State.  
5 See 2001 Guide, supra; see also infra Part V(e). Should these  
6 rulings be adverse to incumbents -- a not very likely scenario --  
7 the incumbents can overturn them by legislation. If the rulings  
8 favor incumbents, challengers have no such option.

9 Because the hands-off approach of my colleagues accords  
10 expansive deference to legislative judgments as to expenditure  
11 limits, see Maj. Op. at 36 & n.9, incumbents are given a weapon  
12 that can be manipulated as needed in the future. Should the  
13 limits of Act 64 prove inadequate and the "arms race" continue to  
14 result in ads and yard signs by challengers, they can be altered  
15 at will.<sup>20</sup>

16 Act 64's major factual premise is that Vermont incumbents so  
17 crave reelection that they ignore official duties and personal

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<sup>20</sup>A low level of judicial scrutiny necessarily leaves legislators with discretion to alter campaign finance regulations to affect upcoming elections. We have seen an example of this in New Jersey, where a campaign finance law was deliberately changed in an (unsuccessful) attempt to bolster the candidacy of a new entrant into the race for Governor. See David M. Halbfinger, Substitute Candidate, on Short Notice, Stakes Claim in Race for New Jersey Governor, N.Y. Times, Apr. 27, 2001, at B5; David M. Halbfinger, New Jersey Legislature Votes To Delay Primaries 3 Weeks, N.Y. Times, Apr. 24, 2001, at B5. In Vermont, Governor Dean sought to use money reserved for the public financing of campaigns -- a key part of Act 64 -- to pay general state expenditures. See State May Tap Campaign Finance Fund to Ease Budget Crunch, Associated Press, Dec. 5, 2001.

1 honor to that end. My colleagues abandon this premise in  
2 reassuring us that self-interest will not influence campaign  
3 finance regulation despite the considerable evidence that self-  
4 interest contributed, albeit below the public radar, to the level  
5 of expenditure limits set by Act 64 and to adoption of the two-  
6 year cycle.

7 Moreover, there is powerful evidence that self-interest will  
8 prevail. Incumbent legislators can exercise a direct influence  
9 on the outcome of elections in two ways: campaign finance  
10 regulation and reapportionment. The importance of self-interest  
11 is dramatically confirmed by the effect of legislative  
12 reapportionment on election districts for the United States House  
13 of Representatives, an area in which courts have deferred to  
14 legislative judgment. See White v. Weiser, 412 U.S. 783, 794-95  
15 (1973) ("From the beginning, we have recognized that  
16 reapportionment is primarily a matter for legislative  
17 consideration and determination.") (internal citation omitted);  
18 see also Miller v. Johnson, 515 U.S. 900, 915-16 (1995).  
19 Reapportionment of federal House districts now has one and only  
20 one guiding star: incumbent protection. See John Harwood, No  
21 Contests: House Incumbents Tap Census, Software to Get a Lock on  
22 Seats, Wall St. J., June 19, 2002, at A1 ("Thanks to the  
23 play-it-safe strategies of Republicans and Democrats alike, and  
24 to the sophisticated technology now used in redistricting,

1 competition is being squeezed out of the House -- with huge  
2 consequences."); id. (describing the practice of "sweetheart"  
3 gerrymandering by incumbents of both parties); Richard  
4 Perez-Pena, With 2 Congressional Seats Lost, Albany Begins  
5 Battling Over Who Must Go, N.Y. Times, Jan. 22, 2002, at B1.  
6 These sources demonstrate that reapportionment is now widely  
7 regarded as little but the "rigging" of elections in the name of  
8 the special interest -- incumbency -- that dominates legislative  
9 decisions. I know of no reason why the guiding star in  
10 reapportionment decisions will not become the guiding star in  
11 campaign finance regulation.

12 d) The Burden on the Press

13 As noted, the law does not exempt the media from the  
14 definitions of "contribution," "expenditure," or "related  
15 expenditure." Media support is a "thing of value" that, if  
16 "facilitated" or "solicited" by a candidate, would be a "related  
17 expenditure." See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2801(3), 2809(c);  
18 see also 2001 Guide, supra. Indeed, as noted above, Vermont's  
19 Secretary of State has warned candidates that providing a photo,  
20 written materials, or "other assistance or information" to anyone  
21 for use in a publication will trigger a related expenditure. See  
22 id.

23 The extent of the burden imposed on the press by Act 64 is  
24 potentially vast, again depending largely on discretionary

1 rulings by those who must administer Act 64. See infra Part  
2 V(e). Certainly, editorials or op-ed endorsement(s) of  
3 candidates fall directly within Act 64's language, as would  
4 publication of letters to the editor from a candidate, a campaign  
5 official, or even a supporter. One witness relied upon in my  
6 colleagues' opinion testified that she authored articles on  
7 issues for the press as a no-cost campaign tactic, Trial Tr. vol.  
8 IX, at 135 (Elizabeth Ready), but publication of these articles  
9 would clearly fall within the related expenditure language of Act  
10 64. Media sponsorship of debates might also, particularly if  
11 some candidates were excluded or if some did not want to appear.  
12 Ordinary news stories about campaign events brought to a  
13 newspaper's attention by a candidate or campaign official, or  
14 even news reports on interviews with candidates, also fall  
15 squarely within the ruling by the Secretary of State described  
16 above. See 2001 Guide, supra.

17 None of this is inconsistent with Act 64's underlying  
18 philosophy. The theory underlying Act 64 would easily include  
19 the media as a powerful special interest having a stake in  
20 government action just like any other profit-making business or  
21 organized economic interest -- e.g., the newspaper quoted by my  
22 colleagues is part of a huge multi-national organization,  
23 undoubtedly one of the larger companies doing business in  
24 Vermont. See Gannett Co. Inc. Operations, available at

1    <http://www.gannett.com/map/units.pdf> (listing The Burlington Free  
2    Press as a subsidiary). A candidate enjoying the editorial  
3    support of the local press, favorable coverage of his or her  
4    campaign events, and publication of his or her op-ed articles  
5    receives benefits bestowed at considerable expense, including  
6    past capital investment and current spending. Unless expenditure  
7    limits include the value of media support, an opponent who does  
8    not enjoy such support and labors under an expenditure limit  
9    exempting media support is in a real sense facing a candidate who  
10   is allowed to spend more because of a powerful economic  
11   supporter. Of course, unconstitutional restraints on the press  
12   are not validated by a need for fairness created by  
13   unconstitutional restraints on political candidates. See infra  
14   note 21.

15        However, many proposals to regulate campaign finance exempt  
16   the media, see, e.g., N.Y. Elec. Law § 14-124; Conn. Gen. Stat. §  
17   9-333w(c), often including a definition of what organs of  
18   communication constitute exempted media, see e.g., Bipartisan  
19   Campaign Reform Act of 2002, § 201(f)(3)(B), Pub. L. No. 107-155,



1 116 Stat. 81 (codified at 2 U.S.C. § 431 et seq.).<sup>21</sup>

2 Nevertheless, Act 64 does not contain such an exception. Given  
3 the plain language of Act 64 and the consistency of its theory  
4 with that language, Act 64 can fairly be said to burden the  
5 press, and any candidate who seeks its support, quite as much as  
6 the Act burdens other candidates and their supporters.

7 e) The Burden on Party Affiliates

8 As noted, Act 64 treats a contribution to a state, county or  
9 local party affiliate as a contribution to all affiliates, and  
10 requires that all such monies be deposited in a single bank  
11 account. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2801(5), 2831; see also  
12 supra note 1.

13 My colleagues note that "the local and state affiliates will  
14 now have to record and coordinate their contributions," but  
15 reassure us that "the provision does not impose any  
16 organizational burden on the party outside of the campaign  
17 finance realm, and requires no broader organizational reform."

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<sup>21</sup>Some may doubt that Act 64 was intended to apply to media editorializing because they deem such editorializing to be constitutionally protected. However, paid advertisements have the same protection as editorials, see Sullivan, 376 U.S. at 266 (holding that "statements [that] would otherwise be constitutionally protected . . . do not forfeit that protection because they were published in the form of a paid advertisement"), and if government may constitutionally limit paid advertisements, as Act 64 does, government may limit unpaid endorsements. I, of course, believe that government cannot limit either.

The reason many campaign finance laws exempt the media is, therefore, not constitutional scruple, but the desire of proponents of regulation for media exposure and support. Such support might not be forthcoming if the media realized the extent to which the theory of such laws is a dagger easily aimed at freedom of the press.

1 Maj. Op. at 88. Of course, under Act 64, the "campaign finance  
2 realm" is not some incidental, out-of-the-way matter but covers  
3 virtually every organizational activity, including even the cost  
4 of charcoal, hotdogs, hamburgers, and soft drinks for a town  
5 committee picnic. Moreover, the "record[ing] and coordina[tion]"  
6 is required to be done through a single bank account. See Vt.  
7 Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2801(5), 2831; supra, note 1. If a party  
8 town committee wants \$50 for a picnic, it must petition the state  
9 party official authorized to sign checks from the statewide  
10 account to obtain the only money that can legally pay for those  
11 items. Local party-funded booths at country fairs were mentioned  
12 as a person-to-person method of campaigning by one witness relied  
13 upon by my colleagues, see Trial Tr. vol. IX, at 138 (Elizabeth  
14 Ready), but such funding must also come from the statewide  
15 account.

16 By requiring that the recording and coordination of all  
17 party financing be done through a statewide party organization  
18 that parcels out funds, Act 64 not only disrupts but  
19 revolutionizes the organization of American political parties and  
20 their critical role in a free society. The centralizing of party  
21 funding will of course make all grassroots political activities  
22 by local party affiliates -- the indispensable stuff of American  
23 politics -- subject to the whim of state party officials. In  
24 fact, when the Vermont Secretary of State ruled that a

1 contribution to one party organization constituted a contribution  
2 to all affiliates, both Republican and Democratic state leaders  
3 registered shock -- another example of the lack of scrutiny given  
4 the actual provisions of Act 64 -- and opined that grassroots  
5 activities would be severely inhibited. See Secretary of State  
6 Being Criticized for Fund Raising Ruling, Associated Press, May  
7 28, 1999 (noting one political operative's stunned response as  
8 being "Someone's totally taken leave of their senses").

9 V. THE CONSTITUTIONAL RESOLUTION

10 Some of Act 64's severe limitations on political advocacy  
11 are unconstitutional because no governmental interest, much less  
12 a compelling interest, has been offered to justify them. These  
13 include the two-year cycle for limits on contributions and  
14 expenditures, see Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17 §§ 2801(a), 2805(a),  
15 2805a(a), the forced centralization of local party affiliates,  
16 see id. §§ 2801(5), 2831, and the imposition of expenditure  
17 limits on candidates' self-funded campaigns, see generally id. §  
18 2805a(a).

19 Even if expenditure limits may be constitutionally enacted  
20 notwithstanding Buckley's holding to the contrary, Act 64's  
21 limits are so low that they are unconstitutional by any  
22 reasonable test. Indeed, they survive in the present case only  
23 by my colleagues' creation of a standard that allows legislatures  
24 to adopt low, incumbent-protecting limits.

1 With regard to the governmental interests asserted as  
2 justifications for Act 64,<sup>22</sup> my colleagues rely upon two in  
3 particular: government's interests in eliminating corruption or  
4 the appearance thereof and in affording candidates more time to  
5 spend with non-donor voters. See Maj. Op. at 53-55. As  
6 discussed in my colleagues' opinion, however, these interests are  
7 broadly defined and include eliminating special access or the  
8 appearance of special access of donors to officeholders, reducing  
9 the influential or agenda-setting effect of "bundled"  
10 contributions, and increasing citizen confidence in the electoral  
11 process. See id. at 38-55; see also 1997 Vt. Laws P.A. 64 (H.  
12 28). All of these interests were rejected by the Supreme Court  
13 in Buckley, 424 U.S. at 25-26, but, even if they had not been,  
14 they have not been demonstrated in the present case as having a  
15 constitutionally sufficient nexus to the limits on candidate  
16 expenditures and related expenditures.

17 a) Restrictions on Political Activity for Which No

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<sup>22</sup>My colleagues note that one purpose of Act 64's expenditure limits was to reduce the use of short commercials by candidates but, in light of their disposition of this matter, do not reach the issue of whether this concern is sufficiently compelling to justify the legislation. In that regard, I note two things. First, that interest is not compelling. Indeed, the use of law to force candidates to select one medium of advocacy rather than another is an unconstitutional purpose and an additional ground for striking expenditure limits down. See Meyer, 486 U.S. at 424 ("The First Amendment protects [individuals'] right not only to advocate their cause but also to select what they believe to be the most effective means for so doing."). Second, Act 64 has increased reliance on the media. See 2001 Memorandum, supra; David Gram, Dems Needle Each Other on Spending in Treasurer's Race, Associated Press, May 29, 2002.

1           Governmental Interests are Asserted

2           As to some of the restrictions on political activity imposed  
3 by Act 64, no governmental interest whatsoever has been proffered  
4 as a justification. Absent the assertion of a justifying  
5 governmental interest, any significant restraint on political  
6 speech should be struck down as per se unconstitutional. See Eu,  
7 489 U.S. at 222 ("If the challenged law burdens the rights of  
8 political parties and their members, it can survive  
9 constitutional scrutiny only if the State shows that it advances  
10 a compelling state interest.")

11          First, no reason is offered for the adoption of the  
12 arbitrary and highly discriminatory two-year cycle for limiting  
13 contributions and expenditures. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§  
14 2801(9), 2805(a), 2805a(a). A two-year cycle does not reduce the  
15 influence or access to officeholders of special interests, reduce  
16 time pressures on candidates, or increase citizen or voter  
17 confidence in government. Act 64's public financing provisions  
18 recognize the self-evident need for greater financing on the part  
19 of those who must run two campaigns rather than one. See id. §§  
20 2855(a), (b). Collapsing primary and general elections under a  
21 single expenditure limit is thus a flat-out suppression of speech  
22 for no asserted reason, save perhaps for the unspoken reason of  
23 incumbent protection, as discussed supra.

24          Similarly, no justification or governmental interest is

1 offered for Act 64's treatment of a contribution to any party  
2 affiliate as a contribution to all affiliates, with the statutory  
3 requirement that all contributions to, and thus, expenditures by,  
4 all party affiliates -- state and local -- be from a single bank  
5 account. See id. §§ 2801(5), 2831; supra note 1. Because Act 64  
6 limits contributions to, and related expenditures on behalf of,  
7 particular candidates by political parties on an aggregated  
8 basis, contributions to separate affiliates cannot serve as a  
9 conduit allowing individuals to evade the limits on single source  
10 contributions. See Colorado II, 533 U.S. at 464-65 (permitting  
11 restriction of coordinated party expenditures to minimize  
12 circumvention of contribution limits). Neither the interests in  
13 eliminating corruption, saving candidates' time, nor increasing  
14 confidence in government are therefore served by aggregating  
15 contributions to affiliates of political parties.

16 While serving none of Act 64's asserted goals, the  
17 aggregated treatment of contributions to affiliates eliminates  
18 the right of local committees to be free from centralized control  
19 in raising funds for local party-building activities. One of the  
20 most vital and fertile areas of democratic political activity in  
21 America is the local party committee, which, while loosely  
22 related to larger party organizations, is the source of  
23 grassroots activities that permit citizens to participate and  
24 seek change. Local party activities are a critical means by

1 which a changing public opinion is absorbed gradually into the  
2 political system, rather than going unheard until it reaches  
3 explosive force. Because these activities require funding, Act  
4 64 directly impairs them. See Secretary of State Being  
5 Criticized for Fund Raising Ruling, Associated Press, May 28,  
6 1999 (noting that leaders of both parties warn that "the ruling  
7 would have the effect of undermining the goal of Vermont's new  
8 campaign finance law to encourage more grassroots political  
9 activity"). See supra Part IV(a).

10 Freedom of association includes the right not only to engage  
11 in group activities but also to affiliate groups with one  
12 another, on a horizontal, vertical, or hierarchical basis,  
13 loosely or with centralized control. The choice is to be made by  
14 the citizens involved, not by government. See Timmons, 520 U.S.  
15 at 358; Meyer, 486 U.S. at 424; Buckley, 424 U.S. at 57.

16 Finally, no reason is given for applying expenditure limits  
17 to candidates who desire to fund their own campaigns. See  
18 generally Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2805a(a). Such candidates  
19 already have "access" to themselves and need not spend excessive  
20 time fund-raising. Again, speech is suppressed for no reason.  
21 See Buckley, 424 U.S. at 44-45.

22 b) Buckley Forecloses the Asserted Justifications for  
23 Expenditure Limits

24 Turning to the reasons given by my colleagues as

1 constitutional justifications for expenditure limits, each of  
2 them has already been considered and rejected by the Supreme  
3 Court. Buckley rejected in the most explicit terms the notion  
4 that government may, under a Constitution containing the First  
5 Amendment, limit the amount of political speech by candidates and  
6 ordinary citizens. See id. It is no surprise that many of the  
7 arguments made in favor of Act 64 rehash those considered in  
8 Buckley because Act 64 was intended by its proponents as a  
9 vehicle to overturn the Buckley ruling. See 2001 Memorandum,  
10 supra; Hearing on H. 28 Before the Vt. House Comm. on Local  
11 Gov't, 64th Biennial Sess. (1997) (statement of Anthony Pollina);  
12 Hearing on H. 28 Before the Vt. Senate Comm. on Gov't Operations,  
13 64th Biennial Sess. (1997) (statement of Sen. William Doyle); Vt.  
14 House Comm. of Conf., Report on Campaign Finance, H. 28, 64th  
15 Biennial Sess. (1997).

16 For example, the question of special donor access or the  
17 appearance thereof was highlighted both by the Congress that  
18 enacted the expenditure limitations struck down in Buckley, see  
19 Minority Views on Report of the Comm. on House Admin. to  
20 Accompany H.R. 16090 (July 30, 1974), reprinted in Legislative  
21 History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, at  
22 749 (1977), and by the Court of Appeals for the District of  
23 Columbia, which upheld those limitations and was reversed in  
24 Buckley. Buckley v. Valeo, 519 F.2d 821, 838 (D.C. Cir. 1975),



1 aff'd in part and rev'd in part, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). That court  
2 expressly noted that "[l]arge contributions are intended to, and  
3 do, gain access to the elected official," id., an observation  
4 interchangeable with language in my colleagues' opinion. To be  
5 sure, the Supreme Court did not use the word "access" in Buckley,  
6 but it did use the stronger term, "improper influence." Buckley,  
7 424 U.S. at 27, 45-46. Having held that corruption itself or the  
8 appearance thereof -- bribes -- was not sufficiently compelling  
9 to justify limits on expenditures by candidates, id. at 55, the  
10 Court hardly had to go on to say that access or the appearance of  
11 access -- returning or taking a phone call from a donor -- was  
12 also not compelling. Reducing bribes is generally regarded as a  
13 far more compelling interest than reducing phone calls.

14 It is also suggested that the practice of bundling  
15 contributions by those with common interests justifies  
16 expenditure limits. My colleagues assume that the practice of

1 bundling was unknown at the time of Buckley. Maj. Op. at 43.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>My colleagues cite a Sixth Circuit concurrence for the proposition that Buckley was "'decided on a slender factual record,'" Maj. Op. at 27 (citing Kruse v. City of Cincinnati, 142 F.3d 904, 919 (6th Cir. 1998) (Cohn, J., concurring)). To this they add citations to a treatise, a law review article, and a student note for the proposition that Buckley was decided without a "factual" record. The authors of these works could not have been familiar with the actual record before the Court in Buckley, which contained over 700 pages of statistical and testimonial data and findings of fact, as described below. Those materials are a matter of public record, and the Buckley briefs and oral arguments can be found in a published, two-volume work. 1976 Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Buckley v. Valeo (Phillip B. Kurland and Gerhard Casper, eds. 1977) (hereinafter "Landmark Briefs").

Buckley involved a major piece of legislation passed after extensive congressional hearings in which critics of the private financing of elections supported their case with massive submissions of evidence. Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, The Federal Election Commission (1977). The Supreme Court's decision indicated familiarity with this body of evidence. See, e.g., Buckley, 424 U.S. at 20 nn. 20-21 (giving election-related statistics); id. at 22 n.23 (same); id. at 26 n.27 (same). Other materials before the Supreme Court in Buckley include, inter alia, a Joint Appendix of 762 pages, which compiled findings of fact and statistical findings agreed to by the parties, Joint Appendix at 4-698, Buckley (Nos. 75-436 and 75-437), and the district court's findings of fact, id. at 699-753.

The agreed upon findings of fact included data from opinion polls on public perceptions of politicians, political participation, expenditure limits, and cynicism about government, id. at 160-89, 207-53, detailed catalogs of specific contributions by labor unions, PACs, and business organizations to individual candidates, id. at 55-146, data on expenditures in presidential elections from 1912 to 1968 indicating increasing spending and an increasing cost per vote, id. at 50-51, the cost of postage and newspaper advertising, id. at 29-32, advantages of incumbents over challengers, id. at 16-24, statistics indicating declining voter participation, id. at 9, evidence that candidates generally focused on wealthy donors but that candidates who limited their expenditures had been successful in the past, id. at 256-59, and evidence that elected officials give preferential access to large contributors, id. at 256-57.

The agreed upon statistical findings included data on and analysis of contributions to, expenditures by, and election results for, all congressional candidates and political committees that filed reports in the 1972 and 1974 elections, id. at 270-440, 571-72, 619-78, votes received by challengers versus incumbents in the 1974 House races, id. at 679-96, evidence of specific individuals and groups donating money to congressional candidates on committees relevant to their businesses, id. at 462-64, 467-72, statistics on independent expenditures, id. at 472-73, data on individuals who contributed large sums to 1972 congressional elections and the Committee to Reelect the President, id. at 479-564, a detailed analysis of the 1972 elections which discussed, among other things, the costs of raising money from large versus small donors and the relationship of expenditures to success in elections, id. at 571-586, and a ten volume study by Common Cause entitled 1972 Congressional Campaign Finances, id. at 698.

The Buckley district court's findings of fact were based on the testimony and affidavits of fifteen individuals, and basically summarized that testimony. Id. at 699. These findings included opinions on the importance of

1 However, the concept of pooling contributions by persons with  
2 common interests is hardly new. Indeed, at the time of Buckley,  
3 proponents of the 1974 Act relied heavily on pooled contributions  
4 by various firms in particular industries as evidence of improper  
5 influence. See Senate Floor Debates on S. 3044 (Mar. 28, 1974,  
6 Apr. 3, 1974) (statements of Sens. Griffin, Baker), reprinted in  
7 Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments  
8 of 1974, at 259, 365-66 (1977); House Floor Debates on H.R. 16090  
9 (Aug. 8, 1974) (statement of Rep. Dickinson), reprinted in  
10 Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments  
11 of 1974, at 917 (1977). An amendment in the House that would  
12 have prohibited pooling was introduced, voted on, and rejected.  
13 See Minority Views on Report of the Comm. on House Admin. to  
14 Accompany H.R. 16090 (July 30, 1974), reprinted in Legislative  
15 History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, at  
16 752-53 (1977); House Floor Debates on H.R. 16090 (Aug. 7, 1974),  
17 reprinted in Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act

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seed money to challengers, id. at 703, 714, the ways in which expenditure limits favor incumbents over challengers and third party candidates, id. at 727-33, 713-19, indices of success other than winning or losing, id. at 712, and the ability to run a successful campaign with little money, id.

In Buckley, therefore, the Court had before it extensive hard data regarding contributions to, and expenditures by, candidates for federal offices, as well as a multitude of reflections and opinions on the role of money in campaigns by persons familiar with American electoral politics. Moreover, the defense in Buckley included not only the government but also various groups, including Common Cause and the League of Women Voters, who were allowed to intervene as full parties and were represented by the Washington law firm, Wilmer, Cutler, and Pickering and by Archibald Cox of the Harvard Law School, a former Solicitor General of the United States.

1 Amendments of 1974, at 858-59 (1977).

2       This was all explicitly before the Supreme Court in Buckley.  
3 In fact, "bundling" was considered so significant that the  
4 findings of the Buckley district court as to large contributions  
5 cataloged them by industry as well as by individual donor. See  
6 Joint Appendix at 86-143, Buckley (Nos. 75-436 and 75-437). In  
7 particular, much attention was given at the time of Buckley to  
8 the 1972 campaign contributions by the dairy industry, in which  
9 milk producers pooled a large sum and then broke it down into  
10 contributions by small committees to avoid disclosure. See  
11 Senate Floor Debates on S. 3044 (Mar. 26, 1974, Mar. 27, 1974,  
12 Mar. 28, 1974, Apr. 3, 1974, Apr. 4, 1974) (statements of Sens.  
13 Hathaway, Griffin, Hollings, Baker, Kennedy), reprinted in  
14 Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments  
15 of 1974, at 205, 225, 257, 365, 376-77 (1977). This incident was  
16 a highly publicized scandal at the time. It was featured in the  
17 Court of Appeals decision that upheld expenditure limits,  
18 Buckley, 519 F.2d at 839 n.36, and that was reversed by the  
19 Supreme Court, Buckley, 424 U.S. at 55. Finally, an example of  
20 "bundling" was mentioned during the oral argument in the Supreme  
21 Court in Buckley. 1976 Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the  
22 Supreme Court of the United States: 2 Buckley v. Valeo 729  
23 (Phillip B. Kurland and Gerhard Casper, eds. 1977) (appellees'  
24 argument that disclosure of small contributions necessary because

1 of "the problem of culminating, of combining contributions, if  
2 you have a large number of people who are affiliated"). The term  
3 "bundling" may be new, therefore, but the concept is long in the  
4 tooth.

5 My colleagues now emphasize a governmental interest  
6 mentioned only in passing in their original opinion, the belief  
7 that expenditure limits will reduce the time spent fundraising by  
8 candidates, with the hope that the extra time will be spent  
9 conferring with ordinary citizens. Maj. Op. at 45-55. This  
10 justification overlaps with the access issue and, to that extent,  
11 was decided in Buckley as discussed above.

12 In any event, the arguments regarding the time politicians  
13 spend fundraising were, as conceded by my colleagues, known and  
14 made before the Supreme Court in Buckley. Because my colleagues  
15 quote a commentator for the proposition that in Buckley,  
16 "'candidate time protection was almost wholly ignored as a  
17 justification for campaign spending limits,'" Maj. Op. at 47  
18 (quoting Vincent Blasi, Free Speech and the Widening Gyre of  
19 Fund-Raising: Why Campaign Spending Limits May Not Violate the  
20 First Amendment After All, 94 Colum. L. Rev. 1281, 1285-86 & n.15  
21 (1994)), I quote the pertinent passages from the briefs and lower  
22 court decision in the margin. The time-protection argument was  
23 relied upon by the Court of Appeals in Buckley in upholding the

1 statute,<sup>24</sup> was the subject of an entire subsection of the brief  
2 filed in the Supreme Court on behalf of the Attorney General and

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<sup>24</sup>See Buckley v. Valeo, 519 F.2d 821, 838 (D.C. Cir. 1975). The Court of Appeals found that:

In practice . . . candidates were compelled to allot to fund raising increasing and extreme amounts of time and energy. Senator Hollings testified that survival required candidates for national office to "set down a policy where they won't go see people other than those who can give money." Joseph Cole, finance chairman for the Democratic National Committee, testified from his experience in some four or five Presidential campaigns, how dog-tired candidates must arise early in pursuit of large contributions, and continue "all day long and all night long." "[How] much time do you think a Presidential candidate spends on fund raising? . . . at least 70 percent of his time, and I think all of his waking hours. It is really demeaning, demeaning to go through it."

Id. (footnotes omitted).

1 Solicitor General,<sup>25</sup> was argued as a justification in the brief  
2 filed in the Supreme Court by intervening parties defending

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<sup>25</sup>See Landmark Briefs: 2 Buckley v. Valeo (Brief for the Attorney General as Appellee and for the United States as Amicus Curiae). The relevant section of the brief stated:

Fund raising consumes candidate time that otherwise would be devoted to campaigning.

The court of appeals found support for the statute in the fact that in order to raise large amounts of money to support a campaign, "candidates [are] compelled to allot to fund raising increasing and extreme amounts of time and energy." A past finance chairman of the Democratic National Committee testified that a presidential candidate is required to spend 70 percent of his time in pursuit of funds.

There is, of course, another side to this problem. If the idea is that expenditure limits relieve the pressure of raising funds, thereby giving the candidate more time to engage in speaking, there may be effective alternative means of accomplishing this end. For example, public financing of election campaigns, quite independent of restrictions upon contributions and expenditures, will provide some relief. A restriction on contributions will increase this effect even without an accompanying restriction on expenditures; once candidates are precluded from drawing upon wealthy donors who command personal attention, campaign fund raising may turn more to direct mail efforts that are sparing of the candidate's time.

Id. at 434-35 (internal citations and footnotes omitted).

1 expenditure limits,<sup>26</sup> and was mentioned by the Supreme Court  
2 itself.<sup>27</sup> The claim that this issue was not fully before the

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<sup>26</sup>See Landmark Briefs: 2 Buckley v. Valeo (Brief for Appellee Center for Public Financing of Elections, Common Cause, League of Voters, et al.). The brief stated:

Th[e] rising thirst for money has forced candidates to divert time and energy to fund-raising activities and away from other activities, such as addressing the substantive issues, that do not fill campaign coffers. Joseph Cole, who was National Finance Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, vividly recounted the effects of the pressure to raise money on candidates in a passage quoted by the court of appeals:

" . . . I have been close to four or five Presidential campaigns . . . . I have sat next to the Presidential candidate, who was tired, who was weary and concerned with the issues and not able to handle them, not able to prepare, not able to think about them because he has to go downstairs at 7 in the morning to shake hands with a guy from whom he may get a large contribution."

"It goes on all day long and all night long, and I was asked at the Senate hearings how much time do you think a Presidential candidate spends on fundraising? And I said at least 70 percent of his time, and I think all of his time, and I think all of his waking hours. It is really demeaning, demeaning to go through it."

Id. at 97 (footnotes omitted); see also Landmark Briefs: 2 Buckley v. Valeo, (Brief of Senators Hugh Scott and Edward M. Kennedy as Amici Curiae) ("The pressure upon candidates to raise money from large contributors had become so great as to leave them little time for ordinary citizens.") (footnote omitted).

<sup>27</sup>See Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. at 91 ("In this case, Congress was legislating for the 'general welfare' . . . to free candidates from the rigors of fundraisers"); id. at 96 ("In addition, the limits on contributions necessarily increase the burden of fundraising, and Congress properly regarded public financing as an appropriate means of relieving major-party Presidential candidates from the rigors of soliciting private contributions."); S. Rep. 93-689, 5 (cited in above quotations from Buckley, and justifying public financing because "[m]odern campaigns are increasingly expensive and the necessary fundraising is a great drain on the time and energies of the candidates"); see also Buckley, 474 U.S. at 258-59 (White, J., concurring in part and dissenting from the Court's view that the expenditure limits were unconstitutional) ("In another major innovation, aimed at insulating candidates from the time consuming and entangling task of raising huge sums of money, provision was made for public financing of political campaigns for federal office.").



1 Court in Buckley is therefore incorrect.

2 c) The Insufficiency of the Governmental Interests

3 Even putting aside Buckley's binding precedent, the various  
4 interests asserted in defense of expenditure limits fail to  
5 satisfy First Amendment requirements.

6 1) Anti-Corruption

7 Act 64 drastically reduced the limits on contributions  
8 established in prior Vermont law. There is no evidence in the  
9 record that Act 64's new low limits on contributions alone will  
10 not suffice to eliminate any improper influence. All of the --  
11 largely sparse, anecdotal, and conclusory -- evidence of improper  
12 influence dates from a time when the contribution limits were  
13 much higher.

14 Prior Vermont law allowed contributions of \$1000 per  
15 election to any candidate. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2805(a)  
16 (1996) (amended 1997). As noted, Act 64 limits contributions to  
17 candidates for statewide office to \$400, for the state senate to  
18 \$300, and for the state house to \$200. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit.  
19 17, § 2805(a). The reduction is greater than might be perceived  
20 because Act 64's contribution limits apply over a two-year cycle  
21 and related individual and party expenditures -- e.g., mileage,  
22 house parties -- must be counted in determining whether a donor  
23 has reached the limit. See id. § 2801(a), 2805(a), 2805a(a),  
24 2809(a); see also supra Part III(b)-(e).

1           In assessing the anti-corruption effect of expenditure  
2 limits, my colleagues rely on a portrait of Vermont politics  
3 drawn from testimony by a handful of proponents of Act 64. That  
4 portrait is essentially as follows. The money spent on campaigns  
5 has been spiraling over the forty or more years in which Vermont  
6 has toyed with expenditure limits. See 1997 Vt. Laws P.A. 64 (H.  
7 28) (finding no. 1); Maj. Op. at 12-14, 49-53. The urge to raise  
8 campaign money has increased accordingly, see id. at 49-53,  
9 leading to an "arms race" caused by the fear of being "vastly  
10 outspent," id. at 58, in which, because one candidate may, for  
11 example, buy materials for yard signs, others must do so also,  
12 see Trial Tr. vol. IX, at 148 (Elizabeth Ready). We are also  
13 told that candidates for legislative office have historically  
14 spent less in their campaigns than the limits set by Act 64. See  
15 Maj. Op. at 63-64. In concrete terms, this means that the  
16 average campaign cost, the "arms race," for single-member Vermont  
17 House or Senate races has over 40 years spiraled to \$2,000 and  
18 \$4,000 respectively. See generally Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, §§  
19 2805a(a)(4), (a)(5).

20           We are also told that raising these sums creates such a  
21 dependence among legislators on large contributors -- at the  
22 time, a \$1,000 maximum -- that for the entire two years after  
23 each election, the legislators engage in "perpetual fundraising,"  
24 Maj. Op. at 7, and have little time to talk with ordinary

1 citizens. See id. at 49-52. The selections from the testimony  
2 highlighted in my colleagues' opinion portray members of the  
3 Vermont legislature as susceptible to corruption and so obsessed  
4 with soliciting or conferring with cash donors that they have  
5 very little time to confer with ordinary citizens. See Maj. Op.  
6 at 50-54 (describing candidates as being "locked away" while  
7 fundraising instead of "out with the public" because "candidate  
8 time is effectively for sale").

9       The record justifying Act 64's massive regulation of  
10 political speech is not strong; in fact, it is pitifully weak.  
11 Even if Vermont legislative candidates had to raise cash amounts  
12 well in excess of \$4,000, this task would hardly leave them so  
13 obsessively dependent on large contributions (now a maximum over  
14 a two-year cycle of \$400, \$300, \$200, depending on office), see  
15 Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2805(a), that large contributors would  
16 thereafter be able to demand the right to most of the  
17 legislators' free time. What little actual evidence there is to  
18 the contrary is on its face gross hyperbole. For example, the  
19 testimony of a person described by my colleagues as a "lobbyist,"  
20 who offered descriptions of Governor Dean meeting only with  
21 contributors, Trial Tr. vol. IX at 195-96 (Anthony Pollina), is  
22 heavily relied upon in their opinion, Maj. Op. at 50, 52, 53. In  
23 fact, that person was a lobbyist for the passage of Act 64, whose  
24 success in that regard -- with the Governor's support -- entirely

1     believes his assertions about elected officials listening only to  
2     large contributors.

3             There are also, of course, the accusations of corruption  
4     with precisely the same scripted sound-bites that are used in  
5     every talk-show discussion of these issues. In fact, my  
6     colleagues' opinion overstates this testimony by omitting  
7     important qualifications offered by the witnesses relied upon,  
8     such as their lack of knowledge of any legislative vote ever cast  
9     solely because of a campaign contribution, Trial Tr. vol. VII at  
10    48-49 (Toby Young); Trial Tr. vol. VII at 105 (Cheryl Rivers) ("I  
11    am not talking about selling votes."), their denial of present  
12    improper influence in contrast to their fear of future behavior  
13    under the old contribution limits, Trial Tr. vol. VII at 37 (Toby  
14    Young) (opining that Vermont elections are clean); id. at 50  
15    (opining that an official would grant preferential access to a  
16    thousand-dollar donor); Trial Tr. vol. VII at 137-38 (Cheryl  
17    Rivers) ("I don't think the present situation is good, and I  
18    think if we don't do something, it's going to get worse."); Trial  
19    Tr. vol. IX at 167-69 (Elizabeth Ready) (accepting \$1000 and  
20    \$2000 contributions appeared improper though she was not  
21    influenced), and their knowledge of the ready access of ordinary  
22    citizens to lawmakers, Trial Tr. vol. VII at 27-28 (Toby Young)  
23    (stating that typical state public officials in Vermont will see  
24    anyone who wants to see them).

1           The only particularized evidence of improper influence  
2   relied upon by my colleagues consists of one anecdote. It  
3   involved "widely reported" meetings of major dairy companies with  
4   unnamed officials when such meetings were denied to smaller dairy  
5   organizations, Maj. Op. at 50. We are asked to assume in this  
6   case that unspecified contributions -- in contrast to, perhaps,  
7   numbers of voters involved -- were the decisive factor.  
8   Moreover, not only are the details of this episode unknown, but  
9   it also took place before Act 64's limits on contributions. It  
10   is therefore not particularly relevant.

11           In any event, the First Amendment does not permit the  
12   suppression of speech based on such untested anecdotal evidence.  
13   See, e.g., United States v. Playboy Entm't Group, Inc., 529 U.S.  
14   803, 820-21 (2000) (requiring more than "anecdotal evidence" of  
15   "signal bleed" problem in support of a regulation requiring  
16   broadcasters to fully scramble sexually-oriented programming);  
17   Stanley v. Georgia, 394 U.S. 557, 567 (1969) ("Given the present  
18   state of knowledge, the State may no more prohibit mere  
19   possession of obscene matter on the ground that it may lead to  
20   antisocial conduct than it may prohibit possession of chemistry  
21   books on the ground that they may lead to the manufacture of  
22   homemade spirits.").

23           Moreover, if the claims of widespread, improper influence  
24   are true, anecdotes should not be the only available evidence.

1 Disclosure of contributions has been required in Vermont for  
2 years, offering documentary support for the claims, if accurate,  
3 of dependence on large or bundled contributions and of the  
4 influence of those contributions. See, e.g., Vt. Stat. Ann. tit.  
5 17, §§ 2811(a)(1)-(4) (effective July 1, 1982) (amended 1997)  
6 (requiring campaign reports for candidates' contributions and  
7 expenditures). The lack of reference to available hard evidence  
8 of who gave what to whom even under the prior higher contribution  
9 limits suggests that the portrait of corruption painted by my  
10 colleagues is vastly overdrawn.

11 When the Supreme Court decided Buckley, it had before it  
12 detailed records of actual large, bundled contributions and the  
13 amount of out-of-pocket expenditures by candidates.<sup>28</sup> See, e.g.,  
14 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 32-34 & nn. 35-40; Joint Appendix at 264,

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<sup>28</sup>For example, the Court of Appeals in Buckley stated:  
Looming large in the perception of the public and  
Congressmen was the revelation concerning the  
extensive contributions by dairy organizations to  
Nixon fund raisers, in order to gain a meeting with  
White House officials on price supports. The industry  
pledged \$2,000,000 to the 1972 campaign, a pledge  
known to various White House officials, with President  
Nixon informed directly by Charles Colson in September  
1970, as acknowledged by the 1974 White House paper  
. . . . On March 23, 1971, after a meeting with dairy  
organization representatives, President Nixon decided  
to overrule the decision of the Secretary of  
Agriculture and to increase price supports. In the  
meetings and calls that immediately followed the  
internal White House discussion and preceded the  
public announcement two days later, culminating in a  
meeting held by Herbert Kalmbach at the direction of  
John Ehrlichman, the dairymen were informed of the  
likelihood of an imminent increase and of the desire  
that they reaffirm their \$2 million pledge. 519 F.2d  
at 840 n.36.

1 483, Buckley (Nos. 75-436 and 75-437); see also supra note 22.  
2 Nevertheless, it struck down the expenditure limits as facially  
3 unconstitutional. See Buckley, 424 U.S. at 54-55. Here, the  
4 opposite result is reached based on anecdotal evidence, even  
5 though better evidence, if corruption exists, is available.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>My colleagues suggest in a footnote citing to McConnell, see Maj. Op. at 42, n.12, that speech may be suppressed based solely on anecdotal evidence, and that reliance on a couple of untested and untestable anecdotes from Act 64's supporters is sufficient. However, McConnell -- which dealt with contributions, not expenditures -- does not stand for any such proposition. McConnell explained specifically how "[t]he evidence connects soft money to manipulations of the legislative calendar, leading to Congress' failure to enact, among other things, generic drug legislation, tort reform, and tobacco legislation." 124 S.Ct. at 664 (citing among other sources the declaration of former Senator Alan Simpson that "Donations from the tobacco industry to Republicans scuttled tobacco legislation, just as contributions from the trial lawyers to Democrats stopped tort reform"). McConnell also noted that

The evidence in the record shows that candidates and donors alike have in fact exploited the soft-money loophole, the former to increase their prospects of election and the latter to create debt on the part of officeholders, with the national parties serving as willing intermediaries. . . . federal officeholders have commonly asked donors to make soft-money donations to national and state committees "solely in order to assist federal campaigns," including the officeholder's own. Parties kept tallies of the amounts of soft money raised by each officeholder, and "the amount of money a Member of Congress raise[d] for the national political committees often affect[ed] the amount the committees g[a]ve to assist the Member's campaign." Donors often asked that their contributions be credited to particular candidates, and the parties obliged, irrespective of whether the funds were hard or soft. National party committees often teamed with individual candidates' campaign committees to create joint fundraising committees, which enabled the candidates to take advantage of the party's higher contribution limits while still allowing donors to give to their preferred candidate. Even when not participating directly in the fundraising, federal officeholders were well aware of the identities of the donors: National party committees would distribute lists of potential or actual donors, or donors themselves would report their generosity to officeholders.

For their part, lobbyists, CEOs, and wealthy individuals alike all have candidly admitted donating substantial sums of soft money to

1                   2) Time Protection

2           I turn now to the claim that expenditure limits are  
3 necessary because "endless fundraising[] drastically reduces  
4 opportunities that candidates have to meet with non-contributing  
5 citizens." Maj. Op. at 50. As noted, this argument was squarely  
6 before the Supreme Court in Buckley. See supra notes 24-27. It  
7 was, understandably, given only passing attention by the Court  
8 because it is not compelling in any sense. The time protection

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                  national committees not on ideological grounds,  
                  but for the express purpose of securing  
                  influence over federal officials.

Id. at 662-63 (quoting and citing statements by politicians, CEOs and  
lobbyists).

To support their argument that anecdotal evidence may, by itself, serve  
to repress speech, my colleagues parse McConnell's statement that "The record  
in this case is replete with similar examples of national party committees  
peddling access to federal candidates and officeholders in exchange for large  
soft-money donations." Id. at 664, see Maj. Op. at 42 n.12. In fact, this  
statement does not reference a record "replete" with anecdotal evidence, as my  
colleagues seem to believe, but introduces a factual discussion:

So pervasive is this practice that the six national  
party committees actually furnish their own menus of  
opportunities for access to would-be soft-money  
donors, with increased prices reflecting an increased  
level of access. For example, the DCCC offers a range  
of donor options, starting with the \$10,000-per-year  
Business Forum program, and going up to the  
\$100,000-per-year National Finance Board program. The  
latter entitles the donor to bimonthly conference  
calls with the Democratic House leadership and chair  
of the DCCC, complimentary invitations to all DCCC  
fundraising events, two private dinners with the  
Democratic House leadership and ranking members, and  
two retreats with the Democratic House leader and DCCC  
chair in Telluride, Colorado, and Hyannisport,  
Massachusetts. Similarly, "the RNC's donor programs  
offer greater access to federal office holders as the  
donations grow larger, with the highest level and most  
personal access offered to the largest soft money  
donors."

Id. at 665 (noting parenthetically "records indicating that DNC offered  
meetings with President in return for large donations").



1 argument, baldly stated, is that law can force candidates to  
2 engage in more personal communications with voters by limiting  
3 candidate spending on other means of communication.

4 The evidence in the record of excessive time consumption  
5 reveals that it is not a testable proposition but can be  
6 repeatedly stated as fact and in exaggerated terms. There is no  
7 doubt that candidate time is spent fundraising and that some of  
8 it is wearisome. However, there is also no doubt that one can  
9 say that candidates spend too much time fundraising without  
10 knowing how much time is actually spent, because no one else  
11 knows either. This particular record contains almost no evidence  
12 of the specific time spent fundraising. To the extent that a  
13 particular amount of time was described, it was brief, such as an  
14 afternoon. Trial Tr. vol. IX at 151 (Elizabeth Ready) ("That  
15 afternoon that I had to raise that extra money, I wasn't in front  
16 of the Grand Union nor was I going door to door.").

17 Time protection is a useful political argument for a number  
18 of additional reasons. It allows legislative proponents of  
19 expenditure limits to avoid saying that limits are needed because  
20 they themselves might be tempted to vote for or against a measure  
21 solely to get a campaign contribution. Instead, they can say,  
22 without fear of any future verification, that they need more time  
23 to spend with "ordinary citizens."

24 The time protection argument is also useful because it can

1 easily be exaggerated. There is often no dividing line between  
2 donors and "ordinary citizens" who support a candidate or between  
3 fundraising and other campaign events. Meetings with supportive  
4 voters can often be described either as "fundraising" or as  
5 "person-to-person contact with voters," depending on the point to  
6 be made. The type of campaign events at which money is raised  
7 might well be held even if no contributions were sought. After  
8 all, even a holiday dinner with family members can be described  
9 as being "locked away" with large donors. See Vt. Stat. Ann.  
10 tit. 17, § 2805(f) (contributions by candidates and their  
11 immediate families unlimited).

12 In a more sinister vein, time protection is a particularly  
13 useful argument for incumbents. It is on its face either a  
14 remarkable example of incumbent self-sacrifice or a remarkable  
15 example of self-interest. Should we believe that incumbent  
16 legislators, who generally can raise campaign money more easily  
17 than non-incumbents, want major-party and third-party challengers  
18 to spend less time fundraising so that the challengers can spend  
19 more time engaged in supposedly more effective personal meetings  
20 with ordinary citizens? Or, is it possible that incumbents may  
21 want to stress the value of person-to-person contact over other  
22 methods of communication with voters, knowing that those other  
23 methods of communication with voters will still be substantially  
24 available to incumbents even under expenditure limits while not

1 -- or much less -- available to potential challengers. For  
2 incumbents, the time protection argument is less about increasing  
3 person-to-person contact with voters than it is about limiting  
4 their opponents' overall contact with voters. Time protection  
5 and incumbent protection thus usefully coincide. Finally,  
6 person-to-person contact between candidates and voters will not  
7 increase under an incumbent-rigged system. Potential challengers  
8 will be deterred from running, and incumbents who will be  
9 protected by the law's expenditure limits will have less need for  
10 person-to-person contact.

11 Governmental interests that are so speculative -- or  
12 incumbent protective -- are not sufficient to override  
13 significant First Amendment interests. E.g., Stanley, 394 U.S.  
14 at 567.

15 In any event, Act 64 actually diverts candidates from  
16 meeting with voters. As my colleagues concede, limiting the size  
17 of individual contributions necessarily increases the amount of  
18 time that must be spent raising a particular amount of money.  
19 Maj. Op. at 52. Moreover, expenditure limits also impose time  
20 consuming tasks on candidates themselves, particularly because  
21 expenditure limits may preclude the hiring of staff. As noted,  
22 expenditure limits require candidates to map-out, monitor, and  
23 put values on activities by supporters or party organizations  
24 that involve related expenditures, which, if they exceed \$50 with

1 regard to a single source, must be totaled within the permissible  
2 expenditure and contribution limits. See Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17,  
3 § 2809(a)-(c); see also supra Part III(e). Every campaign event  
4 involving supporters -- e.g. buying yard signs and driving to  
5 where they will be placed, holding meetings or dinners -- must  
6 involve close calculations by candidates as to whether the  
7 particular activities constitute expenditures or related  
8 expenditures and what value should be attributed to particular  
9 in-kind expenditures. Act 64's provisions will actually force  
10 candidates to spend more time than ever on non-speech-related  
11 activities.

### 12 3) Public Confidence in Government

13 This brings me to the argument of Act 64's proponents that  
14 the expenditure limits of Act 64 will restore public confidence  
15 in government and thereby increase citizen and voter  
16 participation in elections. Of course, every attempt to suppress  
17 speech is based on claims that the speech in question, if allowed  
18 to go on freely, will induce behavior that is undesirable.  
19 Critics of literature, theater, or television with explicitly  
20 sexual or violent themes claim that such speech may induce the  
21 behavior portrayed. See, e.g., 1 American Psychological  
22 Association, Report of the American Psychological Association  
23 Commission on Violence and Youth, at 6 (1992), available at  
24 <http://www.apa.org/pi/pii/violenceandyouth.pdf> (stating that

1 exposure to violence in mass media increases the risk of youth  
2 involvement in violence). Those who would censor political  
3 speech will always argue that such speech will reduce confidence  
4 in government. I have no doubt that supporters of the Alien and  
5 Sedition Acts made such arguments and that many incumbent  
6 officeholders view vigorous opponents as undermining confidence  
7 in government.

8 Governmental suppression of speech must be based on a  
9 compelling demonstration that the speech will incite conduct --  
10 here an alleged indifference to politics on the part of citizens  
11 -- that government has a right to prevent. See Boos v. Barry,  
12 485 U.S. 312, 335 (1988) (Brennan, J., concurring in part and  
13 concurring in the judgment) ("Our traditional analysis rejects  
14 such a priori categorical judgments based on the content of  
15 speech, requiring governments to regulate based on actual  
16 congestion, visual clutter, or violence rather than based on  
17 predictions that speech with a certain content will induce those  
18 effects.") (internal citations omitted); Tinker v. Des Moines  
19 Indep. Cmty. Sch. Dist., 393 U.S. 503, 508 (1969) ("[I]n our  
20 system, undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance is  
21 not enough to overcome the right to freedom of expression."). I  
22 do not doubt that government can and ought to take steps to  
23 enhance citizen confidence, but suppressing political activity  
24 will not encourage either more confidence or more political

1 activity.

2 In fact, no little part of the public confidence argument is  
3 a quintessential self-fulfilling prophesy. The confidence of  
4 Vermont citizens in their state government is unlikely to be  
5 substantially enhanced so long as Act 64's proponents make  
6 unsupported claims about the corrupt nature of that government.

7 In any event, an indifference to politics cannot be traced  
8 to excessive spending for electoral purposes. To the contrary,  
9 the New Hampshire 1968 primary and the Vermont 2000 election  
10 involved heavy citizen participation because of voter interest in  
11 the issues and the critical fact that candidates who were divided  
12 on those issues could raise and spend money debating them. The  
13 theory of Act 64, as stated in the legislative findings, is that  
14 public involvement decreases as spending increases. See 1997 Vt.  
15 Laws P.A. 64 (H. 28) (findings nos. 4 and 10). However, record  
16 amounts were spent on the Vermont 2000 gubernatorial election,  
17 see Ross Sneyd, Campaign 2000 Involved Lots of Spending,  
18 Associated Press, Dec. 18, 2000, but a full -- perhaps also  
19 record breaking -- 34.5% more people voted in the 2000 election  
20 than in the prior gubernatorial election. See 2000 Election  
21 Results, supra.

22 Nor is there experience elsewhere to the contrary. Before  
23 1976, presidential general elections were privately funded with  
24 no limits on contributions and expenditures. Claims of a lack of

1 citizen confidence were made. From 1976 through 1988 -- before  
2 the era in which so-called soft money played a growing role --  
3 presidential general elections were fully funded by government  
4 and subject to expenditure limitations. No appreciable increase  
5 in turnout or confidence in government was noted.

6 As in the one-size-fits all concept of an average election,  
7 there is much in the public confidence argument to fear.  
8 Proponents of Act 64 rely upon evidence such as a poll showing  
9 that 75% of voters believe that large corporations have too much  
10 influence and on a newspaper article (published by a very large  
11 corporation) stating similar conclusions. If polls suggesting  
12 that citizens believe that some groups have too much power  
13 demonstrate a governmental interest sufficient to silence those  
14 groups, political speech, including freedom of the press, cannot  
15 be protected.

16 Act 64 reduces the contribution limits for statewide races  
17 to \$400, Senate races to \$300, and House races \$200. See Vt.  
18 Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2805(a). There is nothing in the record of  
19 this case to suggest that these limits are not sufficiently low  
20 to dispel any possibility of corruption or the appearance of  
21 corruption, at least as viewed by reasonable persons. See  
22 Buckley, 424 U.S. at 55 (holding that "[t]he interest in  
23 alleviating the corrupting influence of large contributions is  
24 served by the Act's contribution limitations and disclosure

1 provisions," and therefore does not justify campaign expenditure  
2 limitations). The proponents of Act 64 mention only  
3 hypothesized, large, cash contributions as leading to an improper  
4 influence on government. There is no evidence whatsoever that  
5 expenditures by supporters for "meet the candidate" events, or  
6 that supporters' use of a residence, computer or phone, purchase  
7 of stamps, or driving to meetings have ever caused a problem that  
8 calls for redress.

9       Moreover, there is nothing in the record to suggest that  
10 disclosure of amounts and sources of a candidate's campaign  
11 funds, in conjunction with low contribution limits and/or a form  
12 of public financing, is not the proper democratic method of  
13 enhancing voters' confidence in the character of the people they  
14 elect. Nor is there anything in the record to suggest that a  
15 reduction of campaign activity, in particular grassroots  
16 activity, will lead to persons of better character being elected,  
17 particularly under the terms of a law enacted by those of  
18 purported lesser character.

19       The theory of Act 64 is that less political advocacy is  
20 better for us as a polity because too much political activity is  
21 engaged in by powerful groups. Because these groups are  
22 theoretically able to use every means of communication as a  
23 conduit of influence, political activity at every level must be  
24 reduced. Act 64 is, therefore, designed to impose relative



1 silence on everyone, with two exceptions. First, incumbents will  
2 ensure that they can communicate with the public. Second, the  
3 truly rich and powerful can still engage in constitutionally  
4 protected independent political activities or buy a media outlet.  
5 Expenditure limits do not limit the influence of a Richard Mellon  
6 Scaife, a George Soros, or the politically concerned persons that  
7 publish the Washington Post, New York Times, National Review, and  
8 New Republic. Candidate expenditure limits in fact enhance the  
9 power of these wealthy individuals to set the political agenda  
10 while the ordinary citizen -- who must speak, if at all, through  
11 organizational activity -- is silenced.

12 d) Stopping the "Arms Race," "Effective Advocacy," and  
13 Incumbent Protection

14 As noted, the term "arms race" has been much used in this  
15 litigation, see, e.g., Appellants' Br. at 26-27; Maj. Op. at 42,  
16 44, 49, 51, 58, 59, 68, 72; Trial Tr. vol. VIII at 57 (Peter  
17 Smith); Trial Tr. vol. VII at 56 (Cheryl Rivers), but in a way  
18 that suggests that it is so obviously an appropriate analogy that  
19 an explanation of its relevance is unnecessary. When examined,  
20 however, the analogy has no logical or factual support. It is  
21 also antithetical to the First Amendment because it suggests that  
22 government may set a low maximum limit on political speech and,  
23 to boot, one that is particularly harmful to challengers.

24 1) The "Arms Race"

1       The "arms race" analogy is a useful -- and therefore oft-  
2       used -- political slogan for proponents of Act 64 because it  
3       suggests subliminally a catastrophic spectre of millions being  
4       killed and perhaps elimination of the species itself. However,  
5       the analogy between nuclear-tipped ICBM's -- which many people  
6       would want to eliminate completely -- and political  
7       advertisements -- in Vermont, yard signs -- is not one that meets  
8       the straight-face test, much less one that fits well within First  
9       Amendment jurisprudence, and this aspect of the analogy is  
10      unworthy of further discussion.

11      What other lessons the slogan "arms race" is deemed to  
12      further are difficult to detect because it is used as an  
13      argument-stopper rather than argument-advancer. It may suggest  
14      that much of political spending is superfluous -- beyond a  
15      certain point additional spending does not change votes. This is  
16      a suggestion that posits candidates who keep spending even though  
17      it will not benefit them. If so, the empirical basis for that  
18      suggestion is not visible in this record. Nor is there a visible  
19      basis for believing that the particular point at which further  
20      persuasion stops is the low expenditure limits imposed by Act 64.

21      Perhaps the implication is that spending becomes superfluous  
22      at some point but candidates have no idea where that point is and  
23      continue to spend anyway. However, if the critical point cannot  
24      be determined by a candidate in a particular campaign, it

1 certainly cannot be determined on a one-size-fits-all basis by a  
2 self-interested legislature or by a reviewing court.

3 My colleagues apparently do not use "arms race" to imply  
4 superfluous spending. Rather, they perceive the "race" to result  
5 from the fear of being "vastly outspent" by better financed  
6 opponents. Maj. Op. at 58. They do not deny that on election  
7 night, election officials do not count the dollars spent by a  
8 candidate to determine the winner, and thus, that a fear of being  
9 outspent necessarily associates spending with voter persuasion.  
10 See id. at 52 (quoting Act 64 supporter for proposition that  
11 contribution limits without expenditure limits would lead to  
12 competitions "to see who could raise the most money and outspend  
13 their opponent and therefore win the race") (emphasis added).  
14 "Arms race" is therefore a pejorative method of describing  
15 competition over voter persuasion, the very heart of the  
16 democratic process.

17 The proponents of Act 64, like my colleagues, also use the  
18 slogan "arms race" to argue that any such race should be  
19 prevented because, in their view, (supposedly) low cost, person-  
20 to-person contacts are the most effective campaign tactics.  
21 Trial Tr. vol. IX at 143, 150 (Elizabeth Ready) (personal contact  
22 more effective than paid media); Trial Tr. vol. VII at 100  
23 (Cheryl Rivers) (challenger spending more than incumbent is not  
24 serious detriment to incumbent, who "can make it up with grass

1 roots effort"). Therefore, campaign expenditures above a certain  
2 level (somehow determined) can be eliminated without  
3 disadvantaging any candidate.

4 What is not explained, however, is why, if spending above  
5 that somehow determined level is ineffective, such spending by a  
6 candidate is feared by the candidate's opponent. The answer must  
7 be, and is, that the additional spending does persuade voters.  
8 As the incumbent Senator, whose testimony is relied upon by my  
9 colleagues, testified, she had to spend more than she wished  
10 because her opponents' ads and yard signs caused voters to wonder  
11 whether she was running for reelection. Trial Tr. vol. IX at 148  
12 (Elizabeth Ready) ("[W]hen everybody has yard signs out and  
13 everybody's on the radio and the TV, your constituents will say,  
14 Aren't you running Elizabeth? I see that so and so has got a  
15 million yard signs out. You don't have any yard signs.") Her  
16 opponents, in short, had gotten the attention of voters, who  
17 appear to have been more oblivious to her person-to-person  
18 campaign than she would have liked. In fact, as used in the  
19 present record, "arms race" is a term by which incumbents  
20 describe contested elections.

21 2) "Effective Advocacy"

22 I turn now to the test adopted by my colleagues to determine  
23 whether the level of expenditure limits set by Act 64 is  
24 unconstitutional. That test asks whether the limit is so low

1 that it prevents "effective advocacy" by "driv[ing] the sound of  
2 a candidate's voice below the level of notice." Maj. Op. at 62-  
3 63 (internal citation omitted). Two aspects of this test must be  
4 emphasized. First, it is a minimum speech test, expressly  
5 authorizing government to silence candidates once they reach "the  
6 level of notice" (assuming no less restrictive methods are  
7 available). Second, my colleagues, by equating (understated)  
8 average past expenditures with the threshold "level of notice,"  
9 id., further reduce the minimum at which government can silence  
10 candidates, see supra Part IV(b)(1).

11 Despite the unconditional statements by the Supreme Court  
12 that contribution limits "'entai[l] only a marginal restriction  
13 upon the contributor's ability to engage in free communication,'"  
14 McConnell, 124 S. Ct. at 655 (quoting Buckley, 424 U.S. at 20),  
15 while "limitations on expenditures [are] direct restraints on  
16 speech," id. at 647, my colleagues take the "effective  
17 advocacy"/"level of notice" standard from a discussion of  
18 contribution limits in Shrink, 528 U.S. at 395-96, and force it  
19 into the quite different context of expenditure limits.

20 Contributions pose the spectre of improper influence and may  
21 be substantially limited. Colorado II, 533 U.S. at 440-41  
22 ("limits on contributions are more clearly justified by a link to  
23 political corruption than limits on other kinds of political  
24 spending are"). The language taken by my colleagues from Shrink

1 says no more than that, even given the governmental interest in  
2 reducing improper influence, contribution limits may not be set  
3 so low as to prevent an otherwise viable candidate with large  
4 numbers of potential small donors from raising enough money even  
5 to be noticed by voters. 528 U.S. at 395-96. It does not say  
6 that such a candidate may, having raised a substantial amount in  
7 small contributions, be prevented from spending more than what  
8 (government believes) is needed to reach the minimum level of  
9 notice. Indeed, Shrink itself repeatedly and conspicuously  
10 emphasized the constitutional distinction between contribution  
11 limits and expenditure limits. 528 U.S. at 386 ("expenditure  
12 limits [are] direct restraints on speech, which nonetheless  
13 suffer[] little direct effect from contribution limits"); id. at  
14 387 (noting a "similar difference between expenditure and  
15 contribution limitations in their impacts on the association  
16 right"); id. ("restrictions on contributions require less  
17 compelling justification than restrictions on independent  
18 spending") (internal citation omitted). This distinction was  
19 recently reaffirmed by the Court in McConnell, 124 S. Ct. at 655  
20 (reaffirming practice of "subject[ing] restrictions on campaign  
21 expenditures to closer scrutiny than limits on campaign  
22 contributions" because "contribution limits, unlike limits on  
23 expenditures, entail only a marginal restriction on the  
24 contributor's ability to engage in free communication").

1        Unlike expenditure limits, which directly restrain speech,  
2        Buckley made clear that "[t]he quantity of communication by the  
3        contributor does not increase perceptibly with the size of the  
4        contribution, since the expression rests solely on the  
5        undifferentiated, symbolic act of contributing." 424 U.S. at 21.  
6        "A limitation on the amount of money a person may give to a  
7        candidate or campaign organization thus involves little direct  
8        restraint on his political communication . . . [because] the  
9        transformation of contributions into political debate involves  
10       speech by someone other than the contributor." Id.

11       It is from this premise -- as long as the candidate can  
12       speak effectively, the contributor also can speak -- that the  
13       effective advocacy test was born. See also McConnell, 124 S. Ct.  
14       at 655-56 ("Because the communicative value of large  
15       contributions inheres mainly in their ability to facilitate the  
16       speech of their recipients, we have said that contribution limits  
17       impose serious burdens on free speech only if they are so low as  
18       to prevent candidates and political committees from amassing the  
19       resources necessary for effective advocacy.") (internal quotation  
20       marks and alteration omitted). In no way do the cases evaluating  
21       contribution limits use the effective advocacy test to restrain  
22       the direct political speech occasioned by expenditures.

23       Were these cases read otherwise, they would represent a  
24       complete abandonment of the First Amendment's standard of a free,

1 robust discussion in which citizens "retain control over the  
2 quantity and range of debate on public issues in a political  
3 campaign," even when those who control the government believe the  
4 spending to be "wasteful, excessive, or unwise." Buckley, 424  
5 U.S. at 57. That test, which emphasizes freedom, would be  
6 replaced by a test that permits government to cap the amount of  
7 permissible speech.

### 8 3) Incumbent Protection

9 The rhetoric of the "effective advocacy"/"level of notice"  
10 standard based on average past expenditures conceals a legal test  
11 lethal to challengers. A "level of notice" is something that  
12 incumbents generally have and challengers generally lack. Under  
13 my colleagues' test, therefore, an incumbent's campaign starts at  
14 the "level of notice" at which a challenger's campaign may be  
15 stopped by government. This anti-challenger effect is aggravated  
16 by the use of average past expenditures to determine the "level  
17 of notice." See Maj. Op. at 62-63. As detailed above, see supra  
18 Part IV(b)(1), past averages, even if accurately calculated -- a  
19 result not attainable given Act 64's new definitions -- include  
20 uncontested, or barely contested, elections. See Trial Exs. vol.  
21 III at E-0967 (appellees' expert's calculation of average  
22 expenditures, which includes low-spending candidates whose  
23 spending is unknown by assuming they spent \$500, the maximum  
24 allowed before filing is required); id. at E-1019 (appellees'



1 expert's report criticizing appellants' expert for failing to  
2 include low-spending candidates, whose spending is unknown, in  
3 his averages of campaign expenditures).

4 e) The Excessive Discretion Accorded Administrators

5 In their first opinion, my colleagues, noting that "[i]t is  
6 beyond cavil that an opponent of the Act will argue its  
7 ambiguities and statutory peculiarities," addressed the merits of  
8 that argument and stated that the discretion accorded  
9 administrators by Act 64 was not constitutionally excessive.  
10 Landell v. Sorrell, slip op. at 9156 (withdrawn). They now argue  
11 that the issue need not be addressed. Maj. Op. at 75, n.26. I  
12 disagree.

13 The discretion issue is clearly before us. The degree to  
14 which Act 64 limits political activity is the first part of the  
15 calculus that is before the court. The second part of the  
16 calculus is the sufficiency of the reasons proffered in its  
17 support. Where only acts of administrative or judicial  
18 discretion can mitigate the harshness of restrictions on  
19 protected activity so as to render the justifications for the  
20 restrictions constitutionally sufficient, the constitutionality  
21 of that discretion itself is obviously put in issue.

22 Mild or incidental restrictions on political activity  
23 require less compelling justifications than do harsh  
24 restrictions. FEC v. Beaumont, 123 S. Ct. 2200, 2210 (2003)

1 (level of scrutiny applied to "political financial restrictions"  
2 is "based on the importance of the political activity at issue to  
3 effective speech or political association") (internal citation  
4 omitted). Much of what Act 64 says harshly limits political  
5 activity; much else is left to future elaboration. Perhaps we  
6 may rely upon the wisdom of Vermont's Secretaries of State,  
7 Attorneys General, and its courts, to mitigate the harsh effects  
8 of Act 64's language and to resolve its pervasive ambiguities in  
9 favor of freedom, rather than suppression, of political speech.  
10 If so, the reasons offered in support of the Act might seem  
11 sufficient. However, mitigating rules -- e.g. reducing the  
12 effect on the press or allowing local party affiliates self-  
13 financing -- would involve wholly discretionary or arbitrary  
14 decisions, and the very existence of that discretion is itself a  
15 constitutional problem that cannot be avoided.

16 Limits on campaign expenditures are like all limits on  
17 speech. If the limits are triggered, further speech is  
18 forbidden. It is standard First Amendment jurisprudence that  
19 such a restriction on speech must be precisely crafted to avoid  
20 vesting those who administer the law with excessive discretion as  
21 to its interpretation. See Forsyth, 505 U.S. at 131 (requiring  
22 "narrow, objective, and definite standards"). The requirement  
23 that a law regulating speech embody workable and known standards  
24 is necessary both to alert those who are regulated to its terms,

1    see Gentile v. State Bar of Nevada, 501 U.S. 1030, 1048 (1991)  
2    (requiring regulation of speech to give "fair notice" to those to  
3    whom it is directed), and to prevent enforcers from making  
4    decisions based on impermissible grounds, see id. at 1050-51  
5    ("The prohibition against vague regulations of speech is based in  
6    part on the need to eliminate the impermissible risk of  
7    discriminatory enforcement."); Forsyth, 505 U.S. at 131 (noting  
8    "danger of censorship" where regulation allows excessive  
9    enforcement discretion).

10       Act 64 simply lacks discernible criteria for the many  
11    interpretive and valuation questions that it creates. If there  
12    is to be compliance with Act 64 -- instead of candidates and  
13    their supporters generally ignoring it as a silly law -- there  
14    must be constant interpretation by the Secretary of State, the  
15    Attorney General, and the Vermont courts with regard to the vast  
16    number of questions that will arise election-by-election,  
17    campaign-by-campaign, and day-by-day. The answers to those  
18    questions are the equivalent of granting or denying a permit to  
19    speak. In interpreting the statute, however, the Secretary of  
20    State and the Vermont courts are afforded almost no guidance  
21    except for the manipulable proposition that the influence of  
22    "special interests" is to be reduced and that of "ordinary  
23    citizens" increased.

24       For example, the statute says nothing about the payment of

1 debts or wind-down expenses of prior campaigns during the next  
2 two-year cycle. See 1999 Memorandum, supra. It is also unclear  
3 whether the (paltry) exception for expenses for "meet the  
4 candidate" events applies only to party-sponsored events or all  
5 such affairs. See supra notes 14-15; see generally Vt. Stat.  
6 Ann. tit. 17, §§ 2809(d)(1)-(3).

7 If Act 64 is enforced, valuation questions regarding the  
8 donation or use "of anything of value" will themselves be a  
9 constant issue. When the Act was passed, the Secretary of State  
10 set the cost at 31¢. Although travel on behalf of a candidate's  
11 campaign is a related expenditure counting toward the  
12 contribution limit, see Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2809(c), she  
13 has arbitrarily not changed that figure notwithstanding the  
14 substantially increased price of gas and the pervasive  
15 availability of public and private mileage guidelines. In fact,  
16 employees of the State of Vermont are compensated at 37½¢ per  
17 mile at present. Vermont Dept. of Personnel, Collective  
18 Bargaining Agreements, at  
19 [http://www.vermontpersonnel.org/employee/labor\\_cba.cfm](http://www.vermontpersonnel.org/employee/labor_cba.cfm) (effective  
20 July 1, 2003 to June 30, 2005) (setting mileage reimbursement for  
21 Vermont employees at level established by the U.S. General  
22 Services Administration, currently 37½¢). Given the two-year  
23 cycle and the low contribution/related expenditure limits,  
24 mileage valuations are of enormous importance, but those

1 valuations appear essentially to be matters of caprice under Act  
2 64.

3       There will also be ubiquitous questions concerning whether  
4 particular activities of officeholders, "candidates," or would-be  
5 "candidates" have "the purpose of influencing an election." See  
6 generally Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 17, § 2801. Indeed, the Supreme  
7 Court stated in Buckley that the last-quoted phrase was  
8 unconstitutionally vague unless more narrowly confined than it is  
9 in Act 64. See supra note 6. There is also little guidance as  
10 to what conduct is an "affirmative action to become a candidate,"  
11 see supra notes 9-10, or what professional services are donations  
12 or related expenditures by a firm rather than volunteer services.  
13 See id. §§ 2801(1), 2809.

14       Furthermore, the definition of "related expenditures" can  
15 provoke thousands of questions regarding actions of individuals  
16 or political parties as to which the answer turns -- after a  
17 potentially intrusive inquiry into the fine details of what  
18 candidates and political parties want to do or did, what they  
19 said, and what they thought -- on what was the "primary thrust"  
20 of the activity. See Appendix A. In addressing such questions,  
21 the Secretary herself has noted that the likelihood of so many  
22 different factual circumstances arising prevents the drafting of  
23 precise rules regarding whether particular efforts by a party  
24 will be related expenditures on behalf of candidates -- one of

1 the most important questions arising under Act 64. See id.

2 All of these issues are serious, bristling with First  
3 Amendment implications, and their resolution will oftentimes award  
4 an election to one candidate rather than another. If a party's  
5 poll is deemed a related expenditure on behalf of a candidate for  
6 the House, most or all of that candidate's expenditure limits for  
7 two elections may be exhausted. If a particular activity by an  
8 incumbent legislator is deemed an expenditure, rather than the  
9 performance of an official duty, that legislator may be barred  
10 from driving the family automobile to the local town green to  
11 make a speech during the campaign. If the activity is not an  
12 expenditure, the incumbent legislator may be allowed to engage  
13 freely in very helpful electoral activities that are denied to  
14 his or her opponent. If a candidate has a supporter who is a  
15 lawyer and whose professional services are not deemed related  
16 expenditures, that candidate will have a great advantage over  
17 another whose supporters are not lawyers, including the ability  
18 to bring litigation against the opponent that will exhaust the  
19 opponent's campaign funds. A ruling allowing lawyers to  
20 contribute professional services without counting such services  
21 as contributions or related expenditures is hardly out of the  
22 question under Act 64, even though lawyers are not less apt than  
23 other citizens to seek favors from elected officials for  
24 themselves or their clients.

1           The Secretary of State's opinions allowing partners to make  
2 double donations -- once by the partnership, once by the  
3 individual partners -- and endorsing the legality of  
4 "pass-the-hat" fundraisers in which donors are allowed to remain  
5 anonymous and on the honor system as to how much they give are  
6 only the first examples of how Act 64 will come to mean what the  
7 Secretary of State and Vermont courts say it means. See 2001  
8 Guide, supra. Mileage is now computed at 31¢ no matter what the  
9 price of gas. See 2001 Memorandum, supra. Such uncabined  
10 discretion cannot be squared with the First Amendment's  
11 requirements that speech be regulated according to spelled out  
12 and precise criteria.

13           Equally important, such discretion cannot be squared with  
14 increasing confidence in government, which, in enforcing Act 64  
15 against those running for government office, will necessarily  
16 appear inefficient and arbitrary. Only an organ of government  
17 can administer and interpret these laws. However, that  
18 interpretation consumes time when time is of the essence<sup>30</sup> --  
19 Appendix A is a letter dated December 3, 1999, responding to an

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<sup>30</sup>In the last mayoral election in New York City, a candidate claimed to be eligible for public financing in a primary race, but his application was denied in a debatable ruling. See Mirta Ojito, Badillo Campaign Denied Matching Funds, N.Y. Times, Sept. 8, 2001, at B6; Mirta Ojito, Badillo Appeals Ruling on Campaign Fund Match, N.Y. Times, July 25, 2001, at B4. A Campaign Finance Board later overturned that ruling but only after the primary election was over. See A Bit Late for Race, Badillo Gets Funds, N.Y. Times, Apr. 12, 2002, at B3.

1 inquiry dated October 8 -- and is susceptible to colorable claims  
2 of partisan influence.

3 In Vermont, the purported author of Act 64 was denied public  
4 financing because his party took a poll that, if attributed to  
5 his candidacy, would be a related expenditure causing him to  
6 exceed the maximum contribution and expenditure limits for  
7 candidates eligible for public financing. See Ross Sneyd,  
8 Progressives' Poll Raises Question About Public Financing,  
9 Associated Press, Feb. 21, 2002 (describing Anthony Pollina's  
10 violation of the campaign finance law). The Democratic party  
11 then objected to his receipt of public financing. See Ross  
12 Sneyd, Democrats Ask that Pollina Be Disqualified from Public  
13 Financing, Associated Press, Feb. 28, 2002. The Secretary of  
14 State and the Attorney General, both Democrats, undertook an  
15 investigation into the activities of the candidate's party. See  
16 Ross Sneyd, Progressives Sue to Ensure Public Financing for  
17 Pollina, Associated Press, Mar. 12, 2002; see also Ross Sneyd,  
18 Pollina's Lawyer Says He Won't Cooperate with AG's Probe,  
19 Associated Press, Mar. 22, 2002. The candidate was then quoted  
20 as saying, quite understandably, "You have the Democratic Party  
21 asking the Democratic Attorney General based on an opinion of a  
22 Democratic secretary of state to investigate a Progressive Party  
23 candidate." Christopher Graff, Anthony Pollina's Campaign  
24 Demeans Legislators, Associated Press, Mar. 17, 2002. A system



1 in which partisan politicians investigate and make rulings on how  
2 vigorous a campaign their opponents may wage is not a  
3 confidence-builder.

#### 4 VI. THE REMAND ON NARROW TAILORING

5 My concerns over the remand to the district court for  
6 various "findings" are fourfold. First, my colleagues' opinion  
7 draws no distinction between legislative facts, mixed questions  
8 of legislative fact and law, adjudicative facts, and issues of  
9 law -- on this record distinctions of crucial importance to any  
10 further proceedings in the district court and in this court.  
11 Second, it is unclear what parts of Act 64 my colleagues deem to  
12 be restrictive, and to what degree, thereby hampering if not  
13 precluding any comparison with alternatives. Third, vastly less  
14 restrictive alternatives with no constitutional implications are  
15 so obvious that a remand is unnecessary. Fourth, on many issues,  
16 the forum that needs to be heard from is not the district court  
17 but the Vermont legislature.

##### 18 a) Legislative Facts, Adjudicative Facts, and Mixed Issues 19 of Fact and Law

20 One of the difficulties I had with my colleagues' earlier  
21 opinion -- but did not elaborate in my earlier dissent -- was  
22 that it did not make clear which facts are of a legislative  
23 nature -- facts that determine the appropriateness of a rule of  
24 law -- and which facts are of an adjudicative nature -- facts

1 that affect the legal relations of the particular parties to a  
2 particular lawsuit. See Fed. R. Evid. 201, Notes of Advisory  
3 Committee on Rules (explaining the "fundamental differences  
4 between adjudicative facts and legislative facts. Adjudicative  
5 facts are simply the facts of the particular case. Legislative  
6 facts, on the other hand, are those which have relevance to legal  
7 reasoning and the lawmaking process, whether in the formulation  
8 of a legal principle or ruling by a judge or court or in the  
9 enactment of a legislative body."); see also Langevin v. Chenango  
10 Court, Inc., 447 F.2d 296, 300 (2d Cir. 1971) ("Adjudicative  
11 facts" are "facts about the parties and their activities,  
12 businesses, and properties, as distinguished from general facts  
13 which help the tribunal decide questions of law and policy and  
14 discretion.") (Friendly, C.J.) (internal quotation marks and  
15 citation omitted). Nor did my colleagues' earlier opinion  
16 separate factual matters from mixed issues of legislative fact  
17 and law. The remand for "fact finding" has now pushed these  
18 issues to the forefront.

19 1) The Distinction Between Legislative and  
20 Adjudicative Facts

21 I recognize that the distinction between legislative and  
22 adjudicative facts is no bright line and is often judicially  
23 finessed. See Kenneth Culp Davis, An Approach to Problems of  
24 Evidence in the Administrative Process, 55 Harv. L. Rev. 364, 403

1 (1942) ("courts have generally treated legislative facts  
2 differently from adjudicative facts, even though the distinction  
3 has not been clearly articulated"). In the present case,  
4 however, the perceived need for a remand appears to be based on  
5 the conviction that adjudicative facts need to be resolved. In  
6 my view, that is not so.

7 Legislative facts are factual assumptions or conclusions  
8 that cause a court to choose one rule of law rather than another  
9 or to hold that certain circumstances meet a particular legal  
10 test. See Fed. R. Evid. 201, Notes of Advisory Committee on  
11 Rules. Legislative facts thus govern all future cases  
12 implicating the particular rule of law or its application and are  
13 not subject to future challenge by a litigant save by an attempt  
14 to have the rule of law overruled. My colleagues' repeated  
15 reliance on the existence of an "arms race," their adoption of  
16 the "level of notice"/"effective advocacy" test defined by  
17 average past expenditures, and their conclusion that Act 64's  
18 expenditure limits meet that test, all rest on factual  
19 assumptions about candidate spending. These assumptions are  
20 quintessential legislative facts.

21 Determination of legislative facts is not governed by the  
22 Federal Rules of Evidence. See Fed. R. Evid. 201, Notes of  
23 Advisory Committee on Rules. Nor are they subject to clearly  
24 erroneous review under Fed. R. Civ. P. 52. See In re Asbestos

1 Litigation, 829 F.2d 1233, 1252 n.11 (3d Cir. 1987) (citing  
2 Lockhart v. McCree, 476 U.S. 162 (1986)). Instead, they are  
3 subject to de novo review, and appellate courts not only can find  
4 legislative facts on their own but they also usually do so. See  
5 Davis, supra, at 403-07 (describing Supreme Court and other cases  
6 in which appellate courts found legislative facts). The practice  
7 is so common that what technically might be called mixed issues  
8 of legislative fact and law are often treated simply as issues of  
9 law. Whether expenditure limits set at the level of average past  
10 spending are sufficient for "effective advocacy," for example, is  
11 just such an issue.

12       Adjudicative facts determine the legal relations of  
13 particular parties with regard to particular issues of  
14 controversy. Adjudicative facts do not govern the results of  
15 future litigation -- save for the application of doctrines of  
16 preclusion such as res judicata and collateral estoppel.  
17 Determination of these facts is governed by the Federal Rules of  
18 Evidence and may be based on credibility determinations.  
19 Significantly, adjudicative facts are subject to clearly  
20 erroneous review on appeal under Rule 52. Fed. R. Civ. P. 52(a).  
21 Examples of adjudicative facts are whether one party struck  
22 another by driving an auto through a red light.

- 23           2)    Remand for "Findings" of Legislative Fact and of  
24                Law

1           In my view, my colleagues fail to observe the  
2   adjudicative/legislative distinction because they view  
3   legislative facts relating to the constitutionality of Act 64 as  
4   the sole province of the district court, while an appellate court  
5   may address only the legal issues arising from these facts. As  
6   their opinion expressly states, "[A]lthough we do not question  
7   the validity of the factual findings developed by the legislature  
8   in support of Act 64, our system of judicial review provides  
9   plaintiffs the opportunity to present competing evidence, assigns  
10   to the District Court the responsibility for making findings of  
11   fact and conclusions of law after weighing the evidence, and  
12   leaves to the Court of Appeals the independent responsibility to  
13   assess the legal significance of these factual findings." Maj.  
14   Op. at 35 (footnote omitted). As a result, the remand in the  
15   present case seeks findings on legislative facts, mixed issues of  
16   legislative fact and law, and even pure questions of law.

17           My colleagues remand for findings on whether higher limits  
18   would achieve the anti-corruption and anti-time consumption goals  
19   and "impinge less on the First Amendment rights of candidates and  
20   voters." Id. at 73-75. This inquiry is described by them as a  
21   "fact intensive question of whether that point is set in Act 64  
22   or appreciably higher" and apparently is viewed as an  
23   adjudicative fact as to which the district court may make  
24   credibility determinations that are binding on this court unless

1 clearly erroneous. See id. at 74; Fed. R. Civ. P. 52(a).

2 However, the issues are clearly ones of mixed legislative fact  
3 and law that can and should be decided by this court.

4 It is undisputed that: (i) the view that Act 64's limits  
5 will not substantially affect candidate spending is arrived at  
6 only by averaging in spending in essentially non-contested  
7 elections and using a definition of spending much narrower -- one  
8 that excludes all related expenditures by individuals and  
9 political parties -- than that used by the Act; and (ii) even  
10 under the narrow definition, the limits are far below spending in  
11 actual contested elections in Vermont, including spending by  
12 third party candidates. All that is left is the legal question  
13 of the sufficiency of the governmental interest in justifying the  
14 restrictions on speech.

15 My colleagues also remand for what they describe as "fact-  
16 finding on [the] issues" of

17 (1) what alternatives were considered by the  
18 legislature, including both alternative types  
19 of regulations and alternative amounts for  
20 the limits; (2) why these alternatives were  
21 rejected; (3) whether and how these  
22 alternatives would impinge less on First  
23 Amendment rights; and (4) whether the  
24 alternatives would be as effective as the  
25 mandatory spending limits in advancing the  
26 time-protection and anti-corruption  
27 interests.

28  
29 Maj. Op. at 74 (footnote omitted). None of these issues involves  
30 adjudicative facts. Issues (3) and (4) are clearly questions of

1 mixed legislative fact and law, if not solely of law, while  
2 issues (1) and (2) involve determinations of legislative history.

3 For yet another example, footnote 24 of my colleagues'  
4 opinion indicates that "findings" are to be made on remand as to  
5 a pure matter of law: whether required reports of spending by  
6 candidates for past elections included "related expenditures" as  
7 defined in Act 64, i.e. including spending by individuals and  
8 political parties. Id. at 72-73 n.23. This is an issue of  
9 Vermont law over which there is no dispute. Prior Vermont law  
10 never mentioned "related expenditures"; the term was first  
11 introduced and defined in Act 64; before that there were  
12 contribution limits on individuals, and political parties could  
13 give and spend freely; there are, therefore, no "facts" to find.

14 In the same footnote my colleagues also ask for findings  
15 with regard to whether "legal and record-keeping costs of  
16 compliance with [Act 64] will also inflate future candidates'  
17 expenditures." Id. My colleagues appear to concede that such  
18 costs are expenditures and are therefore limited by Act 64. What  
19 more need be known? There are no adjudicative facts at issue  
20 here. The Secretary of State has advised candidates to obtain  
21 legal advice, and any legal or record keeping costs will  
22 drastically affect, say, a House candidate who must wage both a  
23 primary and general election contest with a total two-year  
24 expenditure limit of \$2,000. The trees in Vermont may be

1 beautiful, but needed professional services do not grow on them.

2 My colleagues now concede that this court will apply de novo  
3 review to legislative facts found by the district court. Id. at  
4 73 n.24. However, my colleagues make no attempt to inform the  
5 parties and the district court of what findings are to be of  
6 legislative fact and what are to be of adjudicative fact. For  
7 example, my colleagues' remand for "fact-finding" on the types  
8 and amounts of limits rejected by the Vermont legislature and the  
9 reasons for rejection. Id. at 74. I see no comparative  
10 advantage in the district court's researching this question of  
11 legislative history unless it is contemplated -- and I assume it  
12 is not -- that the district court will take testimony on the  
13 state of mind of the then-legislators, resolve credibility  
14 issues, and find facts on these issues.

15 My colleagues do agree that a distinction between  
16 legislative and adjudicative facts exists and that legislative  
17 facts are reviewed de novo while adjudicative facts are reviewed  
18 under the "clearly erroneous" standard. However, they never  
19 identify which of the many "findings" to be made on remand are  
20 legislative and which are adjudicative, and, therefore, what  
21 rules to apply to each. This failure will greatly complicate  
22 further proceedings.

23 In my view, virtually all the issues remanded are ones of  
24 legislative fact or of law, and, therefore, there is no reason



1 for a remand. Moreover, if my colleagues believe that further  
2 findings of legislative fact are needed, they can request  
3 briefing of the relevant issues by the parties, rather than  
4 returning questions of law to the district court only to have us  
5 later resolve them de novo.

6 b) Failure to Define What is Restrictive About Act 64

7 Clarification is also needed with regard to the inquiry on  
8 remand as to whether there are less restrictive alternatives  
9 available. As I said at the outset of this dissent, my  
10 colleagues still fail to analyze much of what Act 64 actually  
11 says and does, and, as a result, their opinion contains few  
12 descriptions of significant political speech that they deem to be  
13 restrained by Act 64. An inquiry into less restrictive  
14 alternatives requires some identification and discussion of those  
15 restrictions for which an alternative might be substituted. That  
16 is to say, an available legal rule may be deemed less restrictive  
17 only after its restrictions are compared with the restrictions of  
18 an existing legal rule. Colorado II, 533 U.S. at 464-65  
19 (comparing restrictiveness of existing limitation on coordinated  
20 expenditures with available legal rule limiting contributions  
21 alone). However, my colleagues' opinion neither acknowledges nor  
22 denies that Act 64: intrudes on grassroots activities of  
23 ordinary citizens, restricts the press' editorializing or  
24 reporting on political events, disadvantages candidates who must

1 run in two elections rather than one, and so on and so on.

2 The lacunae in my colleagues' opinion are nowhere better  
3 exemplified than by the remand with regard to related  
4 expenditures. Maj. Op. at 76. The two sentences directing this  
5 remand precede a discussion upholding Act 64's treatment of  
6 related expenditures as contributions. That discussion notes  
7 that limits on related expenditures are designed to avoid  
8 evasions of the limits on contributions. Id. at 90-96. For  
9 example, if someone can both lend office space to a candidate and  
10 make a cash contribution at the maximum limit, that person can  
11 evade the limits.

12 Before this discussion, their opinion states "On remand,  
13 independent of the constitutionality of expenditure limits, the  
14 district court should evaluate [the constitutionality of treating  
15 related expenditures as candidate expenditures]." Id. at 76. Of  
16 course, one reason the related expenditure provision was included  
17 in Act 64 was that cash or in-kind expenditures by individuals  
18 coordinated with a campaign are an obvious method of evading  
19 candidate expenditure limits as well as contribution limits. To  
20 return to the prior example, if a person lends office space to a  
21 candidate, the cost must be treated as an expenditure subject to  
22 the limits on campaign expenditures, or those limits can be  
23 evaded. Because Act 64 reflects the view that expenditure limits  
24 cannot be effective without treating individual and party related

1 expenditures as expenditures by the candidates, it is enigmatic,  
2 to say the least, to ask the district court to evaluate "this  
3 issue . . . independent of the constitutionality of expenditure  
4 limits." My colleagues appear to be troubled by Act 64's limits  
5 on related expenditures but fail to describe or discuss the  
6 reasons for their disquiet. Such a description or discussion  
7 would surely be helpful to the district court and the parties.

8 c) The Existence of a Less Restrictive Alternative

9 I turn now to the question of whether, if Act 64 contains  
10 the restrictions described in this dissent, there are less  
11 restrictive alternatives. My colleagues frame this issue as an  
12 inquiry into what alternatives were actually considered by the  
13 Vermont legislature. See Maj. Op. at 74. That is not the proper  
14 inquiry.<sup>31</sup> A state may not impose laws suppressing political  
15 speech and then successfully defend them on the ground that it  
16 was ignorant of alternatives. Rather, the issue is the existence

---

<sup>31</sup>In a footnote responding to this dissent, my colleagues concede that "[o]f course, the ultimate issue for the District Court on remand is whether there exists a less restrictive type or degree of regulation that would serve Vermont's compelling anti-corruption and time-protection interests; it is not merely whether the legislature considered such an alternative." Maj. Op. at 74-75 n.25 (emphasis in original). Unfortunately, the text of their opinion continues to direct the district court on remand to consider only what was "considered" by the legislature. See id. at 74 ("On remand, the District Court ought consider, . . . (1) what alternatives were considered by the legislature, including both alternative types of regulations and alternative amounts for the limits; (2) why these alternatives were rejected; (3) whether and how these alternatives would impinge less on First Amendment rights; and (4) whether the alternatives would be as effective as the mandatory spending limits in advancing the time-protection and anti-corruption interests.") Were I to eliminate my criticism of their text, their footnote would become superfluous and similarly removed, leaving the text of their opinion stating the incorrect standard.

1 of less restrictive alternatives, not whether a particular  
2 legislature considered them. See Boos v. Barry, 485 U.S. 312,  
3 329 (1988); Wygant v. Jackson Bd. of Education, 476 U.S. 267, 280  
4 n.6 (noting that the term "narrowly tailored" "require[s]  
5 consideration of whether lawful alternative and less restrictive  
6 means could have been used").

7       Moreover, when properly framed, the answer to the inquiry is  
8 so self-evident in the present case that a remand is unnecessary:  
9 a combination of public and private financing with low  
10 contribution limits is infinitely less restrictive -- is actually  
11 speech supportive -- and accomplishes all of the ostensible  
12 purposes of Act 64's expenditure limits. Public financing of  
13 campaigns is of unquestioned validity, see Buckley, 424 U.S. at  
14 57, n.65, 85-109, and, combined with low limits on private  
15 contributions, can guarantee a critical mass of funds to all  
16 candidates, thereby freeing candidates of improper influence from  
17 particular donors and relieving candidates of the need for  
18 extensive fundraising. Such a combination of public and private  
19 financing with low contribution limits would impose only a modest  
20 burden on taxpayers, who, we are told, are anxious to eliminate  
21 undue influence by donors.

22       My colleagues suggest in a footnote, see Maj. Op. at 75  
23 n.25, that the conclusion that a combination of public and  
24 private financing would satisfy the goals of Act 64 is neither

1 self-evident nor supported by the record. To the contrary, if  
2 any conclusion is established, it is this one. As my colleagues'  
3 opinion repeatedly states, low contribution limits further the  
4 anti-corruption goal. And, as the Vermont legislature has  
5 stated, public financing (provided in gubernatorial races)  
6 furthers both the anti-corruption and time protection goals.  
7 1997 Vt. Laws P.A. 64 (H.28) (findings nos. 11 and 12). Public  
8 funding money does not come from private sources, is quickly  
9 obtained, and lessens the need for private money because it is as  
10 negotiable.

11 The problem with this speech-supportive alternative is not  
12 its dubious merit but the fact that incumbent legislators know  
13 that a combination of public and private financing would vastly  
14 increase the number and viability of challengers. The dark  
15 secret of campaign finance reform is that its proponents avoid  
16 this alternative in a Faustian bargain with incumbent legislators  
17 who reject it out of self-interest. Incumbents prefer speech-  
18 limiting expenditure limits, a preference that will gain in  
19 intensity if federal courts will allow such limits to be based on  
20 past average spending and to be upheld so long as they do not  
21 drive challenger campaigns below "the level of notice."

22 d) Remanding to the Wrong Forum

23 \_\_\_\_\_As I have argued above, even if expenditure limits were not  
24 per se illegal, the limits set by Act 64 are so ridiculously low

1 that they fail under any reasonable standard. In fact, they are  
2 so low that they would diminish spending by third party  
3 candidates, not generally regarded as generators of "arms races,"  
4 and would limit even modest grassroots activities by supporters.  
5 Similarly, the restrictions on spending by local party affiliates  
6 fail because no reason has been offered to justify them. Holding  
7 the expenditure limits and the restrictions on the financial  
8 organization of political parties unconstitutional would send  
9 these issues back for reconsideration to the proper forum -- the  
10 Vermont legislature.

11 My colleagues show great deference to the Vermont  
12 legislature and to the various legislative proponents of Act 64  
13 whose views are in the record. This deference is entirely  
14 undeserved. There is not the slightest evidence that either the  
15 legislature or those proponents ever examined the details of the  
16 Act or how they impact those ordinary political activities that  
17 are indispensable to democratic rule. Consequently, the  
18 legislators never weighed Act 64's costs in suppressed activity.  
19 There is no evidence of any discussion of, inter alia, the  
20 effects on grassroots activity, the two-year cycle, the effect on  
21 the press, the costs of legal services to candidates, or the  
22 radical restructuring of political parties.

23 In fact, their own testimony suggesting that "meet and greet  
24 events" such as "spaghetti suppers," "little parties" for "150

1 people" to which "a couple hundred people" are invited by mail,  
2 booths at county fairs, barbecues, and op-ed articles in the  
3 press are campaigning methods not involving Act 64's expenditure  
4 limits, see supra Part II(b), itself reflects an awesome  
5 ignorance of Act 64's provisions. Moreover, it is certainly hard  
6 to find any explanation other than ignorance of the contents of  
7 Act 64 for the fact that the executive director of the Vermont  
8 Democratic party challenged, as harmful to grassroots activities,  
9 the ruling by the Secretary of State that Act 64's limits on  
10 contributions to parties treat all party affiliates as a single  
11 unit, see Secretary of State Being Criticized for Fund Raising  
12 Ruling, Associated Press, May 28, 1999, even though the ruling  
13 simply followed the plain language of the Act.

14 The lobbyist who secured passage of Act 64, who has been  
15 described as its author, and who is quoted at great length in my  
16 colleagues' opinion, has since brought an action in the district  
17 court to have the treatment of related expenditures declared  
18 unconstitutional as infringing on the (his) right to engage in  
19 political activities. See Vermont Reformer Says Law He Authored  
20 Is Unconstitutional, Political Finance, The Newsletter, March,  
21 2002 (describing Anthony Pollina's lawsuit to have Act 64 ruled  
22 unconstitutional); Ross Sneyd, Progressives Sue To Ensure Public  
23 Financing for Pollina, Associated Press, March 12, 2002 (noting  
24 that Anthony Pollina calls his lawsuit "ironic"); see also

1 Complaint at 1, Pollina v. Markowitz, No. 2:02-CV-63 (D. Vt. Mar.  
2 11, 2002) ("Plaintiffs claim that certain provisions of Act 64  
3 violate their First Amendment free speech and association rights,  
4 do not serve compelling state interests, and violate equal  
5 protection and due process of law, both facially and as  
6 applied.").

7 Officeholders have filed disclosure forms that indicate a  
8 continuing lack of knowledge of the requirements of Act 64, in  
9 particular the need to record and disclose mileage and the value  
10 of office space and outside professional services. See, e.g.,  
11 Campaign Finance Report of William Doyle, Dec. 16, 2002 (listing  
12 no mileage expenses for himself or any supporters, or any value  
13 derived from use of office space, computers, utilities, etc., or  
14 any outside legal or accounting services); Campaign Finance  
15 Report of William Doyle, Sept. 25, 2002 (same); Campaign Finance  
16 Report of William Doyle, Oct. 25, 2000 (same); Campaign Finance  
17 Report of Anthony Pollina, Dec. 16, 2002 (listing no mileage  
18 expenses for any supporters or any value derived from use of  
19 office space, computers, utilities, etc., or any outside legal or  
20 accounting services); Campaign Finance Report of Jeb Spaulding,  
21 Dec. 15, 2002 (same); Campaign Finance Report of Deborah  
22 Markowitz, Dec. 16, 2002 (listing no expenses for value of office  
23 space, computers, utilities, basic office supplies, etc., or any  
24 outside legal or accounting services); Amended Campaign Finance



1 Report of Deborah Markowitz, Oct. 29, 2002 (same); Campaign  
2 Finance Report of Deborah Markowitz, Dec. 18, 2000 (same). The  
3 actual spending by other proponents of Act 64 also belies their  
4 opinions as to the reasonableness of Act 64's limits. See supra,  
5 Part IV(b) (1) (C) (describing Act 64 proponents who exceeded its  
6 limits in past elections).<sup>32</sup>

7 Deference to a legislative judgment is due when some minimal  
8 effort has been made by legislators to weigh the relevant factors  
9 and strike a minimally informed balance. There is no evidence of  
10 any such legislative effort with regard to Act 64's actual effect  
11 on political activity.

12 Even under my colleagues' legal theory, therefore, the Act's  
13 limits on expenditures must be struck down as well below any  
14 reasonable constitutional standard, and the limits on local party  
15 affiliates must be invalidated for the lack of any proffered  
16 justification. Such a ruling would leave the Vermont legislature  
17 in a position to deliberate on the full ramifications of its  
18 actions in considering new legislation but still free to pursue

---

<sup>32</sup>Even where proponents do report spending for mileage, the numbers are rounded-off and therefore appear to be estimates. See, e.g., Campaign Finance Report of Anthony Pollina, Sept. 25, 2002 (reporting in kind contribution of mileage by self of \$2720); see also Campaign Finance Reports of Deborah Markowitz, Sept. 25, Oct. 25, and Dec. 16, 2002 (reporting in kind contributions of "postage, travel, phone") by Paul Markowitz of \$525, \$460, and \$120, respectively). These round numbers are not divisible by 31¢ -- the per mile cost of gas assigned by the Vermont Secretary of State; see 2001 Memorandum, supra.

1 it. See Quill v. Vacco, 80 F.3d 716, 742 (2d Cir. 1996)  
2 (Calabresi, J., concurring) ("no court need or ought to make  
3 ultimate and immensely difficult constitutional decisions unless  
4 it knows that the state's elected representatives and executives  
5 -- having been made to go, as it were, before the people --  
6 assert through their actions (not their inactions) that they  
7 really want and are prepared to defend laws that are  
8 constitutionally suspect"), rev'd, 521 U.S. 793 (1997); United  
9 States v. Then, 56 F.3d 464, 466 n.1 (2d Cir. 1995) (Calabresi,  
10 J., concurring) ("when factual developments have made a law's  
11 prior justification constitutionally invalid, it is up to the  
12 legislature to decide whether to advance another state interest  
13 in support of that law") (citing Abele v. Markle, 342 F. Supp.  
14 800, 810-11 n.18 (D. Conn. 1972) (Newman, J., concurring),  
15 vacated, 410 U.S. 951 (1973)); Tunick v. Safir, 209 F.3d 67, 74  
16 (2d Cir. 2000) (implying that state suicide statute could have  
17 been interpreted not to ban assisted suicide because "the New  
18 York Court of Appeals had never clarified, and the legislative  
19 history cast some doubt upon, the question of whether the New  
20 York ban on assisted suicide, first enacted in 1828, was ever  
21 meant to apply to a treating physician") (internal quotation  
22 marks omitted).

## 23 VII. CONCLUSION

24 In holding, with only one dissenting vote, that limits on

1 candidate expenditures are unconstitutional, Buckley simply  
2 followed the mainstream First Amendment jurisprudence that is  
3 applied to communicative activity of far less constitutional  
4 significance than political speech. See, e.g., Stanley, 394 U.S.  
5 at 567 (disallowing speculative governmental interest in banning  
6 obscene material as justification for statute restricting  
7 nonpolitical speech); Smith v. California, 361 U.S. 147, 151  
8 (1959) (applying "stricter standards" in statutory scrutiny where  
9 statute has "a potentially inhibiting effect on speech"). That  
10 jurisprudence calls for scrutiny that does not take  
11 unquestioningly and at face value the claims of a law's  
12 proponents without actually examining the law. See Buckley, 424  
13 U.S. at 40-41 (stating that "[b]efore examining the interests  
14 advanced" in support of legislation, "[c]lose examination of the  
15 specificity of the statutory limitation is required where, as  
16 here, the legislation imposes criminal penalties in an area  
17 permeated by First Amendment interests"); id. at 41 ("The test is  
18 whether the language of [the statute] affords the '[p]recision of  
19 regulation [that] must be the touchstone in an area so closely  
20 touching our most precious freedoms.'" (quoting NAACP v. Button,  
21 371 U.S. 415, 438 (1963))). That jurisprudence demands that a law  
22 restricting speech, including editorializing speech by the press,  
23 spell out what it permits and what it prohibits in intelligible  
24 detail, see Forsyth, 505 U.S. at 131, and not leave vast areas of

1 discretion to those who must implement it. See Thomas, 534 U.S.  
2 at 323. That jurisprudence denies to government "the power to  
3 determine that spending to promote one's political views is  
4 wasteful, excessive, or unwise," Buckley, 424 U.S. at 57, and "to  
5 control . . . the quantity and range of debate on public issues  
6 in a political campaign," id. Under that jurisprudence, Act 64's  
7 limits on expenditures and party financing cannot be upheld.  
8 Under that jurisprudence, forcing a reorganization of political  
9 parties that reduces the autonomy of local party committees for  
10 no articulated reason is unconstitutional.

11 If one looks at what Act 64 says instead of what its  
12 proponents say about it, it is quite apparent that the Act does  
13 indeed embody the theory of the defense witness who opined that  
14 government may regulate political speech the way it regulates  
15 electric companies, see supra Part III(a). Although Act 64 is  
16 said to be aimed at reducing the corrupt influence of "special  
17 interests" while enhancing the role of "ordinary citizens," it  
18 substantially disables ordinary citizens from meaningful  
19 participation in the political process. It cripples party  
20 organizations, particularly at the local level, and prevents  
21 individual grassroots activities on behalf of candidates, while  
22 organized economic interests retain the ability to engage in  
23 costly independent political advocacy. Moreover, the Act  
24 distinctly benefits the "special interest" that enacted it:

1 incumbents.

2 In the beginning of this dissent, I quoted Justices Brandeis  
3 and Black on the dangers of high-minded assaults on liberty. In  
4 waging its broad attack on political activity in pursuit of its  
5 goal of transferring political power from "special interests" to  
6 "ordinary citizens," Act 64 also exemplifies the wisdom of  
7 another, albeit less August, source, Walt Kelly: "We have met  
8 the enemy, and he is us."

1 APPENDIX A

2  
3 State of Vermont  
4 Office of the Secretary of State  
5

6  
7 December 3, 1999  
8

9 Representative Terry Bouricius  
10 56 Booth Street  
11 Burlington, VT 05401  
12

13 Re: Your e-mail of October 8, 1999  
14

15 Dear Representative Bouricius,  
16

17 Please accept my apology for the delay in responding to your  
18 questions. The review of my proposed opinion took longer than  
19 anticipated. This letter is in response to the two questions  
20 which you raised in your e-mail. I will restate the questions to  
21 make sure we understand the fact patterns which I am addressing.  
22

23 1. Can a political party which has no "candidates" as defined in  
24 17 V.S.A. §2801(1) at the time the proposed poll is conducted,  
25 pay in excess of \$500 for the conducting of a professional poll  
26 to seek potential voters opinions about selected potential  
27 candidates, both Progressive and otherwise, and share the poll  
28 results with potential candidates without the polling expense and  
29 associated political party activities triggering either a person  
30 named in the poll becoming a "candidate" as defined in §2801(1),  
31 nor disqualifying a person named in the poll from seeking public  
32 financing from the Vermont Campaign Fund, if a person named in  
33 the poll later decided to become a candidate?  
34

35 The conducting of a poll by a political party to "test the  
36 waters" for various potential candidates will not trigger a  
37 "candidacy" for a person named in the poll even if more than \$500  
38 per potential candidate is expended by the party for the poll so  
39 long as only the general results are used for recruiting, media  
40 releases, or other generalized activities. The conducting of the  
41 poll itself falls within the types of activities generally  
42 pursued by a political party for its overall organization,  
43 planning, and strategy. The political party can conduct a poll  
44 and can make the general results or the poll public without  
45 triggering any candidacies. The party can use the results of the  
46 poll in a general way for recruiting candidates. (For example,

1 telling John Jones that he was the favorite in a potential race  
2 with 3 other names, would be general information which can be  
3 used for recruiting.) However, as I will discuss below, the  
4 acceptance of detailed data and information from the poll by an  
5 individual will trigger a candidacy if the cost of the poll which  
6 is attributable on a pro rata basis to the provision of specific  
7 information and data to a particular candidate exceeds \$500.  
8

9 The Vermont campaign finance law does not specifically  
10 address polling activities and expenses. The definition of  
11 "candidate" in 17 V.S.A. §2801(1) states that "an affirmative  
12 action" of "(A) accepting contributions or making expenditures of  
13 over \$500" will trigger a candidacy. The definition of  
14 contribution includes "a gift of money or anything of value." It  
15 is when an individual accepts the detailed data and information  
16 gained from the professional poll, that "a gift of anything of  
17 value" is accepted, and if the specific information given to an  
18 individual cost over \$500 to produce on a pro rata basis, then a  
19 candidacy will be triggered.  
20

21 Because it is the acceptance of the gift of detailed data  
22 from the poll, not the polling itself, which can trigger a  
23 "candidacy," the political party could conduct a professional  
24 poll at any time but wait until after February 15, 2000 to offer  
25 any detailed data or information from the poll to an individual  
26 in order to avoid the prohibitions of the Vermont campaign fund  
27 (public financing). The law states that if a person becomes a  
28 candidate before February 15 of the general election year, that  
29 person shall not be eligible for Vermont campaign finance grants,  
30 17 V.S.A. §2853(a). Therefore, if before February 15th, a person  
31 accepts detailed data from a professional poll which is a gift of  
32 "anything of value" which cost over \$500 to produce on a pro rata  
33 basis, the person has become a candidate by accepting a  
34 contribution totaling \$500 or more, and will not be eligible for  
35 the Vermont campaign finance grants.  
36

37 In summary, the political party can conduct polls and make  
38 the general results of the poll public without triggering any  
39 candidacies. If specific data and information is accepted by an  
40 individual which cost over \$500 to produce on a pro rata basis, a  
41 candidacy is triggered. If the candidacy is triggered before  
42 February 15, 2000, the candidate will not be eligible for  
43 campaign finance grants. A political party and any individual  
44 considering accepting the detailed results of a poll should  
45 consult their own attorney to discuss specific fact patterns and  
46 how the law would be applied to those specific facts.  
47

48 2. Can a political party spend in excess of \$500 to arrange and

1 sponsor dinners, other events, or party mailings for the purpose  
2 of educating party supporters or potential contributors about  
3 Vermont campaign finance grants and the need for "qualifying  
4 contributions"? Can the party make other preparations to assist  
5 a future candidate in gathering "qualifiers" for use after  
6 February 15, 2000?  
7

8 Your question leaves room for many fact patterns so we will  
9 address three possible scenarios for such preparations, including  
10 dinners, events or mailings which we do not believe will trigger  
11 a candidacy and then discuss some additional considerations that  
12 might raise issues in the mind of an opposing candidate who could  
13 raise the issue using the process in 17 V.S.A. §2809(e).  
14

15 A. If the proposed events are for the sole purpose of  
16 educating voters about the need for many small contributors in  
17 order to qualify for Vermont campaign finance grants, to explain  
18 the importance of party organization, or to discuss any other  
19 topics related to general campaigning, the expenditures clearly  
20 would not trigger a candidacy.  
21

22 B. If the party conducts mailings in which individuals are  
23 named or discussed as potential candidates because the party is  
24 hoping to generate interest in candidacies, but the individuals  
25 do not have knowledge of the fact that their names are mentioned,  
26 and the primary thrust of the activities are party organization  
27 and education of voters about the requirements of the campaign  
28 finance grant law, then the mailings would not trigger a  
29 candidacy.  
30

31 C. If the party conducts other activities to develop a  
32 database of persons who might be willing to contribute  
33 "qualifying contributions" or solicits conditional pledges if an  
34 individual decided to run (see Secretary of State Letter of July  
35 6, 1999), these activities would not trigger a candidacy.  
36

37 D. However, if the party conducts dinners, events or  
38 mailings or solicits pledges in which potential candidates are  
39 introduced and discussed, and the potential candidates have  
40 participated in the planning of the events or given approval to  
41 them, the potential candidates will need to evaluate when or  
42 whether they might cross the line into candidacy by either  
43 accepting contributions or making expenditures of \$500 or more by  
44 way of "accountability of related expenditures" as described in  
45 17 V.S.A. §2809. We cannot anticipate every possible fact  
46 pattern that may develop as the party and potential candidates  
47 proceed, so we merely want to raise the prospect that at some  
48 point the activities may raise questions in another candidate's



1 mind and the opposing candidate may use §2809(e) to seek findings  
2 and a determination from a court. Each party and potential  
3 candidate should review proposed activities with their own  
4 counsel to examine the particular facts to evaluate whether they  
5 may fall into the category of activities addressed in 17 V.S.A.  
6 §2809 as "related expenditures" and possibly trigger a candidacy  
7 based upon accountability for a related expenditure of \$500 or  
8 more.

9  
10 This letter represents my opinion on the issues which you  
11 have raised. You may seek your own counsel to advise you in  
12 these matters. Assistant Attorney General Michael McShane has  
13 reviewed this advisory opinion on behalf of the Office of the  
14 Attorney General and that office concurs with this opinion. If  
15 you have any questions please contact me at 828-2304 or  
16 [kdewolfe@sec.state.vt.us](mailto:kdewolfe@sec.state.vt.us).

17  
18 Sincerely,

19  
20  
21 Kathleen S. DeWolfe  
22 Director of Elections and Campaign  
23 Finance  
24

25 cc: Michael McShane, AAG  
26 Distribution List  
27  
28